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UTAH AND MORMON MIGRATION IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY: 1890 TO 1955

by

Todd Forsyth Carney

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts

in

History

Approved:

Major Professor

Committee Member

Committee Member

Dean of Graduate Studies

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1992

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To Charles S. Peterson
Who Gave Me My Approach to History,
And to My Parents, Durland B. and Jeanne S. Carney,
Who, by Living This Story, Gave Me Two Home States

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the impetus for this thesis has come from discussions with Professors Charles S. Peterson, F. Ross Peterson, and Michael L. Nicholls. Professors Carol A. O'Connor and Derrick J. Thom have also given much needed encouragement throughout. The importance of these faculty members to whatever success this work represents cannot be overestimated.

Likewise, fellow students are often no small help in the development of a project of this kind. In particular, I would like to thank Gilbert Hallows and Chick Hatch for their willingness to act as sounding boards for my various ideas and approaches. Other members of the university community also contributed valuable insights, especially Ona Siporin of the Western Historical Quarterly. A special thanks is due to Barbara Stewart of the WHQ for her many acts of kind assistance.

As all researchers know, little would happen without the kind assistance of many librarians and archivists. In particular, I would like to thank Jeff Simmonds of the Utah State University Merrill Library Special Collections Department, Val Wilson of the Utah State Archives, and the entire staff of the Utah State Historical Society Library for their tireless efforts in my behalf.

Finally, to my parents, I extend gratitude for the love and support that made this thesis possible.

Todd Forsyth Carney

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ABSTRACT

Utah and Mormon Migration in the
Twentieth Century: 1890 to 1955

by

Todd Forsyth Carney, Master of Arts
Utah State University, 1992

Major Professor: Carol A. O'Connor
Department: History

Most Utahns spent the years between Mormon entry into the Great Basin and statehood for Utah pursuing the traditional frontier-rural life, a mode which had been an integral part of the American experience since earliest colonial times. After the Mormon capitulation and statehood, Utah moved into a transitional phase, a phase between the traditional and the modern in which elements of each were mixed and mingled. This phase ended with the Second World War.

This transition to modernity affected migration behavior. Seen in light of migration theory, the Utah experience is something of an anomaly. One theory says that migration is the result of pushes from one place--unemployment, low wages, poor climate, and similar conditions--and pulls to other places--available jobs, better pay, and lots of sunshine. The history of Utah migration during prewar years suggests another kind of pull,

the pull not from outside to leave but from within to stay. The need and commitment to remain in what some call Zion (the Mormon culture region) was strong until the Second World War. After the war other needs and commitments intervened. Government-funded G.I. Bill education and a new sense of personal efficacy caused some to leave Utah for larger industrial and commercial centers. This study concludes by focusing on the experience of a few Utah veterans who migrated to California during the early 1950s.

(161 pages)

CHAPTER I

WHERE THE MOUNTAIN BULWARK STANDS: UTAH AND MIGRATION BEFORE WORLD WAR TWO

1

In the heat of the last day of July 1952, a crowded family car pulling an overloaded rental trailer turned off sixth West Street onto Fourth South in Salt Lake City. The driver was a young man about twenty-seven, a veteran of World War Two; his wife was a few years younger. Between them on the broad bench seat lay a ten-month-old baby asleep on a folded quilt. In the back seat, a six-year-old boy and four-year-old girl were already playing the travel games their mother had bought, anticipating the long trip. With some lugging of the engine, the car and its load crossed the Fourth South viaduct and headed toward downtown. Though it was only eight-thirty in the morning, the thermometer stood at ninety-one degrees in the shade.

The father's eyes began the nervous routine of glancing at the car's temperature gauge every few minutes. Before the day was out, he knew gallons of water would have to be poured into the rusted radiator of the old '39 Chevrolet. At Main Street he turned north and headed toward Temple Square. Driving past Brigham Young's statue with its outstretched hand, he circled through Eagle Gate and turned left onto North Temple. Now he drove more slowly. He crept past the old granite temple and silver-topped tabernacle

slowly enough to get a good long look. He had grown up seeing that spired edifice, a fixture on his hometown's landscape. Its image was, and is, an indispensable element in the iconography of his people. Though it was not the first temple built by the Mormons, nor even the first one completed in Utah, it has, since its dedication, been cherished as the temple. Most land in Utah is surveyed from a baseline and meridian which radiate from its site. It is the Mormon Hagia Sophia, the Dome of the Rock, the Parthenon, the Capitol. Its cathedral-like form was stamped on this young man's life since birth. A painting of the temple adorned the living room wall of his boyhood home. A high school sweetheart had worn a little silver replica on her charm bracelet. He had married his wife in that temple, as his father had his and his grandfather before him. Its meaning in his emotional life he only dimly grasped.

He knew well enough, though, that nostalgia had brought him downtown that hot July morning. But in those confident, exuberant, anything-is-possible days of postwar America, nostalgia was not to be confused with either regret or hesitation. At the point where our young man could no longer strain to look back, he turned his face forward, jammed his foot onto the accelerator, and drove west out of town and out of Utah.¹

¹Material for this sketch was taken from an interview with the subject. He wishes to remain anonymous. The interview is listed in the Literature Cited section.

In leaving Utah, this young family was doing nothing very unusual for the times. They would have a lot of company on the road out of the state. During the decade of the fifties, some 30,000 Utahns would drive the desolate roads leading to the West Coast in search of a new life.² There, they hoped, they would find fulfilling careers and prosperity. Many of them had served in the armed forces during the Second World War and were educated in Utah under one of the federal G.I. benefit laws. Though some left without definite prospects, they had reason to expect good paying jobs in California. As members of the American scene, Utahns had grown up hearing the praises of California. Ever since the days of Ordóñez de Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca, California was that "happy island very close to the Terrestrial Paradise."³ For Americans, California's mythic value was established during the gold rush days of the mid-1800s. Los Angeles's Henry Huntington, William Mulholland, and Southern Pacific's Sunset Magazine frosted and decorated the golden cake, propagandizing the state during the first three decades of the twentieth century into the largest residential land boom up to that

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1950, Special Reports, P.E. Series, 4A, table 13; idem, 1960, Subject Reports, Vol. 2, Pt. 2A, table 18.

³David Lavender, California: Land of New Beginnings (New York: Harper & Row, 1972; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 27; John W. Caughey, Norris Hundley, Jr., California: History of a Remarkable State, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1982), 17.

time. The establishment of Hollywood as the world center for motion picture production further glorified California's image, adding a touch of magic to the advertized list of amenities. And, since California firms had received the largest share of defense contracts during the war,⁴ Utah veterans had reason to expect a large and prosperous economy fully able to absorb educated and hard-working Utahns.

Most of these Utah migrants had been born in the state and in surrounding Mormon regions, or had grown up there, and had the normal feelings for home that always make ambivalent the resolve to migrate. But the Latter-day Saints among them had multiple and deeply-rooted reasons for wanting to remain in Utah. They were part of a people who, though claiming a world-wide mission to spread their gospel, were remarkably insular and provincial. Family tradition, sermons and hymns, and even commercial advertising kept the dual concepts pioneer and Zion alive in the Utah mind. Persecution as a theme was also perpetuated in Mormon folklore and in its iconography, fostering a mild but persistent "them against us" attitude. Memories of pioneer forefathers escaping rabid Satan-spurred mobs to build an empire "far away in the West" were vivid and real.⁵ But,

⁴Gerald D. Nash, The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 19.

⁵See Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," Utah Historical Quarterly (hereafter cited as UHQ) 43 (1975): 67-85 for a full, if somewhat cautious, discussion of Mormon concepts and uses of their history.

in the years immediately following World War Two, Utah's limited economy could neither fully utilize veterans' G.I. Bill education nor satisfy their newly acquired taste for a slice of the modern American pie. Religion and filial piety notwithstanding, many of them left.

However, in doing so, they were not breaking completely with their heritage. Most would build or participate in outposts of Mormonism and Latter-day Saint culture wherever they ended up. Moreover, by pulling up stakes and moving on, they would be doing something that was very Mormon and, paradoxically, very American. Nevertheless, for "committed" and "active" Latter-day Saints to abandon their Zion suggests a significant change had taken place in Utah and in Mormon society. The change no doubt began after the collapse of the Mormon "Kingdom" in the 1890s. Utah's political and economic autonomy had become things of the past by the turn of the century. Cultural autonomy could not long stand alone. Except for the practice of polygamy Mormon doctrines were little touched by the new order. Mormons themselves, however, began to move closer and closer

Geographically speaking, Bitton writes that ritualized history tends "to focus on the 'centrist nucleus' by giving attention to people and events near the center [of Mormonism]. In this way cohesion of the group is enhanced, the lines of traditional identity maintained" (p. 84). See also Austin E. Fife and Alta S. Fife, Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore among the Mormons (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956) and Austin E. Fife, "Folk Belief and Mormon Cultural Autonomy," Journal of American Folklore 61 (1948): 19-30 for broad analysis of the traditional Mormon worldview.

toward the mainstream of American life. They began to participate in what was becoming a modern America and, in the process, became as touched by the spirit of modernization as by the spirit of God.

But what is modernization and what does it mean in an historical context, especially for Utah's history? Unfortunately, no clear-cut answer can be given to this question.⁶ Though all modernization theories attempt to explain the transition from what had been a traditional way of life to what we now recognize as the modern way, each tends to isolate one characteristic of society and hinges the transition to modern life upon it. The original of this type was Ferdinand Tonnies's gemeinschaft to gesellschaft thesis. Tonnies described what had been closely knit communities (gemeinschaft) in traditional times becoming merely units within a larger and less personal society (gesellschaft). Social alienation, to some degree, is the almost universal result. Max Weber advanced the idea that modernization is the shift from traditional-charismatic leadership to legal-rational technocracy. In modern societies great men no longer rule by charisma and force of will. Instead, society is managed by bureaucrats and

⁶The author acknowledges that "modernization" has become a somewhat politically "loaded" term. Its use in reference to non-European, "third world" societies is often taken to imply an attitude of ethnocentric superiority on the part of commentators employing the term. It should be understood that "modernization" as used here refers only to Utah and the United States and carries with it no comment or meaning which relates to other places and other cultures.

rulebooks. Sir Henry Maine's theory is that modernization results from a shift away from relationships governed and conditioned by status to those mandated by formal contract. For Emil Durkheim modernization is a shift from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. That is, in a modern society relationships and loyalties no longer hang upon arbitrary associations but upon natural bonds of mutual interests. A labor union or a gardening club may be better examples of organic types of association than the church, or the social class, or even the family into which one is born.⁷

Though the element of change for each of these theorists differ, all reach similar conclusions about the characteristics of traditional and modern societies. According to sociologist S.N. Eisenstadt traditional societies are "static, with little differentiation or specialization, a predominance of mechanical division of labor, a low level of urbanization and literacy, and a strong agrarian basis as the main focus of [the] population." Conversely, modern societies have a "very high level of differentiation, a high degree of organic division of labor specialization, urbanization, literacy and exposure

⁷Ferdinand Tönnies, Community and Association, trans. Charles P. Loomis (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955); Max Weber, Basic Concepts in Sociology (New York: Philo-sophical Library, 1962); Emil Durkheim, Selected Works (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); all passim; Walter Nugent, Structures of American Social History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), 5-22.

to mass media, and [are] imbued with a continuous drive toward progress."⁸ In the political arena, modernization means a shift from authoritative rule to mass participation. In culture, it means a "shift from tradition-boundness to dynamism oriented to change and innovation." In an individual's life, modernization means a "heightened sense of personal efficacy"⁹ and "the urge to set the terms of one's own life, to be relatively open minded and cognitively flexible."¹⁰

What modernization means in terms of the Utah experience, especially that of World War Two veterans, is as unclear as the definition of modernization itself. However, each of the several modernization theories seem almost irresistibly to apply to Utah's development in one way or another. In fact, the entire issue of post-world war migration from Utah may hinge as much upon the influences of modernization as upon the opportunities presented by the G.I. Bill of Rights. But also problematic is how to periodize Utah history to make plain when the state was in

⁸S.N. Eisenstadt, Tradition, Change and Modernity (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), 127.

⁹Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 34.

¹⁰Nugent, Structures of American Social History, 7. The author wishes to acknowledge the key role Dr. Nugent's book played as an introduction to modernization theory in historical analysis. See also Richard D. Brown, Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1800-1865 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976).

its traditional mode, when it found itself in the modern mode, and when it experienced the transition between the two. Though interpretive difficulties exist, the background material in this chapter will explore modernization in the Utah context and attempt a periodization based upon it. And, since a large part of Utah and Latter-day Saint thinking and behavior is influenced and informed by history, an understanding of Utah and Mormon experience with migration, and the economic conditions back of it, is vital to an understanding of the postwar migration of former G.I.s.

2

The story of Mormon migrations before their arrival in Utah in the summer of 1847 has been well told. These migrations, many all but forced, form a large part of what Mormons consider the sacred history of the "restoration," the founding of their church. The 1830s, 40s, and 50s saw the Mormon equivalent to Mohammed's Hegira, in hymn and lore an age of hardships met by towering courage, stalwart faith, and obedient solidarity as the saints moved or were driven from place-to-place.¹¹ Utah and the Mountain West was

¹¹Wallace Stegner, The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964; paperback edition, 1971), 6; and Stegner, "On the Writing of History," in The Sound of Mountain Water (New York: Dutton, 1980; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 208. Though Mohammed's Mecca gained its pilgrimage role because it was the place from which the prophet fled, Utah, and particularly the Salt Lake Valley, became a "Mecca" for

their final destination. Either by church direction or on their own, Latter-day Saint settlers founded village after village in the Great Basin, Snake River Plain, and Colorado plateau. Later, as the federal government vigorously attacked the Mormon theocracy and the practice of polygamy, other Mormons founded settlements in Canada and Mexico. For whatever reason, and at the direction of whichever authority, each migration was an almost ritualized replay of the trek west, each step on the trail an offering in sweat to their God. For faithful nineteenth century Mormons, migration was a religious imperative second only to tithing.

Thanks to the seminal works of Leonard J. Arrington, Utah's history can be broken into several economic periods, each exhibiting its own style of migration.¹² The first began in 1847 with the arrival of the Mormons in the Mountain West, and ended with the completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1869. This period was characterized by a high degree of economic isolation and intense, though

Mormons everywhere for just the opposite reason--it was the place to which the Latter-Day Saints fled.

¹²Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966); The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950, Utah State University Monograph Series, Vol. X, No. 3 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1963); and with Thomas G. Alexander, A Dependent Commonwealth: Utah's Economy from Statehood to the Great Depression, ed. Dean May, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 4 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974); all passim.

not always successful, efforts at near total self-sufficiency for the Latter-day Saint kingdom. During this entire period and beyond, church directed entities such as the Perpetual Emigration Fund sponsored a migration of some two to three thousand persons per year into Utah. A large portion of these were foreign-born converts.

Between 1847 and 1858 nearly a hundred villages or colonies were established in the Great Basin by Mormon settlers. Most were built along the eastern margin of the basin where it rises to meet the Colorado Plateau. The geography of this margin provided a natural corridor, swinging south from the Salt Lake Valley, turning to the southwest and pointing the way to California and the Pacific Ocean. The westward trending of the "Mormon Corridor" suited church plans perfectly. Brigham Young intended to establish settlements in southern California and eventually to secure an outlet to the sea for the Mormon kingdom. In the early years, colonization along the corridor was directed from Salt Lake City with a policy of preemptive occupation in mind.¹³ Colonizing companies were sent out, formally "called" by church authorities, to occupy settlement after settlement along the corridor. Those called were expected to gather their belongings. It was migration as seen almost nowhere else in the world at any

¹³Charles S. Peterson, Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado, 1870-1900 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 4-8; Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 86-88.

time. Not only did the vast majority of Mormons comply with little question, but, once established at the place of their calling, they displayed an extraordinary reluctance to leave without additional instructions from their leaders. This reluctance was often bequeathed to descendants and persisted well into the twentieth century.¹⁴

The economic organization of each of these settlements was a matter of prime importance. For nineteenth century Latter-day Saints, there was little distinction made between religion, faith, and economy. Mormons pursued their economic life either at the direction of the church hierarchy or on their own, but either way believing they were serving God by doing so. Like Zion of old the Latter-day Saints lived a commonwealth ethic; not usually communal but typically communitarian. Property was most often held in private hands but always subject to the needs of the overall community.

The southern and western most of these commonwealth settlements was San Bernardino, reached in 1851. This colony was established as a gathering place for Mormons who had been in California as early as 1846, either as former members of the Mormon Battalion or as passengers of the Brooklyn, a ship which had brought about 230 Saints around the Horn from New York. Landing at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) near the first of August, the Brooklyn saints

¹⁴Peterson, Take Up Your Mission, 60.

were organized under the direction of Samuel Brannan as "presiding Elder." Under Brannan's ambitious, if not always selfless, leadership the California group accumulated a long list of firsts: the first non-Catholic church service in California, the first newspaper and regularly organized school conducted in the English language, the first sail launch to ascend the San Joaquin River, and the first wheat planted in the Central Valley--all this as much as a year before the main body of the church arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. Brannan later abandoned his connections with the church and embarked upon a long and famous business career which made him, most likely, California's first millionaire. The Brooklyn saints eventually either drifted overland to Salt Lake City or headed south to join the settlement at San Bernardino which, for a time, prospered. However, during the "Utah War" of 1857-58 the California saints were instructed to "gather" back into Zion. The California settlements were abandoned.

Even so, Mormon connections remained strong in the Golden State. Maps and gazetteers evidence dozens of Mormon Islands, Mormon Corrals, Mormon Springs, Mormon Gulches, Mormon Wells in the state, primarily in the north. Mt. Palomar, site of the famous two hundred inch telescope, was originally named Mt. Joseph Smith. Ina Coolbrith, born Josephine Smith, niece of the prophet and first poet laureate of California, was credited by Jack London as his literary mentor. She, too, has a mountain peak named for

her. California's first state governor, Peter Burnett, was Joseph Smith's lawyer when he was imprisoned in Liberty, Missouri in 1838. However, the strong California connection notwithstanding, church officials made no attempt at colonization or even missionary activities in California between 1857 and 1892.¹⁵

Elsewhere, the economic base of most Mormon settlements was agriculture and stock raising. In a cash poor society such as frontier Utah staple crops like as wheat, oats, potatoes, and beef served well as currency in the barter economy. In addition, those settlements located on continental trails or near military or mining operations benefited, in cash, from their surplus. In fact, export trade was encouraged by church leaders painfully aware of Utah's specie shortage. Economic missions were called to take advantage of such trade whenever possible.¹⁶

As part of the drive toward self-sufficiency, settlement missions were dispatched for special economic purposes. Perhaps the largest of these efforts were the cotton missions sent into the Virgin River region in 1856 in an attempt to grow all cotton needed within the territory. Other missions were called for the production of iron, lead, and coal. For a number of reasons, most of these industrial

¹⁵AnnaLeone D. Patten, California Mormons by Sail and Trail (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961), 1-33; Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 87-88.

¹⁶Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 115-129.

settlements failed to fulfill expectations. Cotton cultivation never exceeded 400 acres. After ten years of experimentation, the small iron works built near Cedar City were closed. A lead mission sent into the hills around Las Vegas likewise failed to earn its own expenses. In each case, failure can ultimately be laid on the inability of cooperative institutions to deal with industrial realities. Only the coal missions found any kind of success. Settlers who had labored on these doomed ventures were either sent to other missions or migrated to other settlements on their own.

Though seemingly modernizing, the pioneer Mormon industrial projects were actually attempts to prop up traditional notions of self-sufficiency. Clearly, there was the religious motive to remain "unstained by the world" and to therefore rely upon no outside influences to meet basic material needs. More significant, though, is the Mormon tendency toward conservation of beliefs and values established in the formative years of the faith, the 1820s and 30s. Corporate self-sufficiency was one of these values. The second period of Utah's economic history, beginning with the coming of the railroad and ending when Utah was granted statehood in 1896, is best seen as an economic invasion by outside business interests and Mormon reaction to that invasion. Mormon cooperative and United Order movements tried to hold fast against the gentile onslaught. The motives and objectives of migration during

this period were similar to those of the pre-railroad era. However, where during the 1847 to 1869 period migration was often an act of dogged devotion, after 1869 it was frequently taken up with a zeal. Millennial speculations and attempts to recreate the purity of the "Zion of old" drove many Mormons into social experimentation and utopianism.

Several United Order of Zion communities were established during the mid-1870s. The most famous was Orderville in the upper Virgin River basin of southern Utah. Like other Order colonies, Orderville was largely settled by nearly destitute migrants from several of the failed industrial missions. It is unclear whether or not they were directly called to participate in a communal settlement. It does seem certain, though, that after years of eking out a meager living among the rocks and bunchgrass of southern Utah, many were lured to Mormon utopias by the security offered by a community life wherein everyone was family and all shared equally the risks and burdens of the other. Life would still be hard, but none would starve.¹⁷

Migration in Utah would be disrupted frequently during the decade of the 1880s by federal attempts to bring Utah into the mainstream of American life. The raid on church assets mandated by the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 resulted in a sharp curtailment of immigration into Utah. Migration

¹⁷Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 321-337.

within the state was disrupted as Congress and the nation sought to stamp out polygamy and the hated Mormon theocracy. Mormon leaders were often in hiding from federal marshals or in jail. The direction and supervision of settlement efforts were therefore in constant disarray. Congress finally had its way. Church officials capitulated. In response to Latter-day Saint compliance, federal authorities returned church property in 1893. However, as Leonard Arrington has put it, the "temporal kingdom was dead--slain by the dragon of Edmunds-Tucker."¹⁸ Coincidental with the death of the Mormon theocracy was the end of a demographic era in Utah. Up to this time the territory had been in what historian Walter Nugent has called the frontier-rural mode of American history.¹⁹ Beginning with the first settlements on the Atlantic seaboard, the frontier-rural mode had been the traditional American way of life for almost two hundred years. Its greatest period, the era of manifest destiny fervor of the early and mid-1800s, saw the birth and rise of Mormonism as a force in frontier America. In a very real way the Latter-day Saint colonization and settlement effort was an echo of this most American of social movements.²⁰

In terms of demographics, the frontier-rural mode was

¹⁸Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 379.

¹⁹Nugent, Structures of American Social History, 28-29.

²⁰Peterson, Take Up Your Mission, 7.

characterized by rapid population growth, very high birth rates, high percentage of population in farming, low educational attainment, and young marriages. Subsistence agriculture was the basis for the frontier-rural economy. The engine for frontier-rural expansion was abundant resources--land for new farms for newcomers and offspring, water for irrigating expanding fields and, in Utah's case, minerals to export to the rest of the country to keep a cash economy afloat.

Utah's performance for key demographic measurements is shown in figures 1 and 2. Utah's population curve is dramatic in showing high growth in the 1850s, 60s, and 70s, though all the while declining in rate. By 1900 the growth rate had leveled off at near forty percent per decade. Utah's birth rate curve is likewise dramatic. Unfortunately, reliable data are not available for the years prior to the 1880 census. However, the sharp drop from about forty-two births per thousand in 1880 to about twenty-seven per thousand in 1890 suggests a high birth rate prior to 1880. Both figures, the growth rate and the birth rate, suggest that by 1900 Utah was running out of ready resources.

Not only had growth slowed but a change began to manifest itself culturally as well. The remainder of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of the Americanization of Utah's economy. Individualistic capitalism began to replace Mormon concepts of cooperation and stewardship.

Fig. 1. Utah Population Growth, 1850 to 1970

Fig. 2. Utah Birth Rate, 1880 to 1970

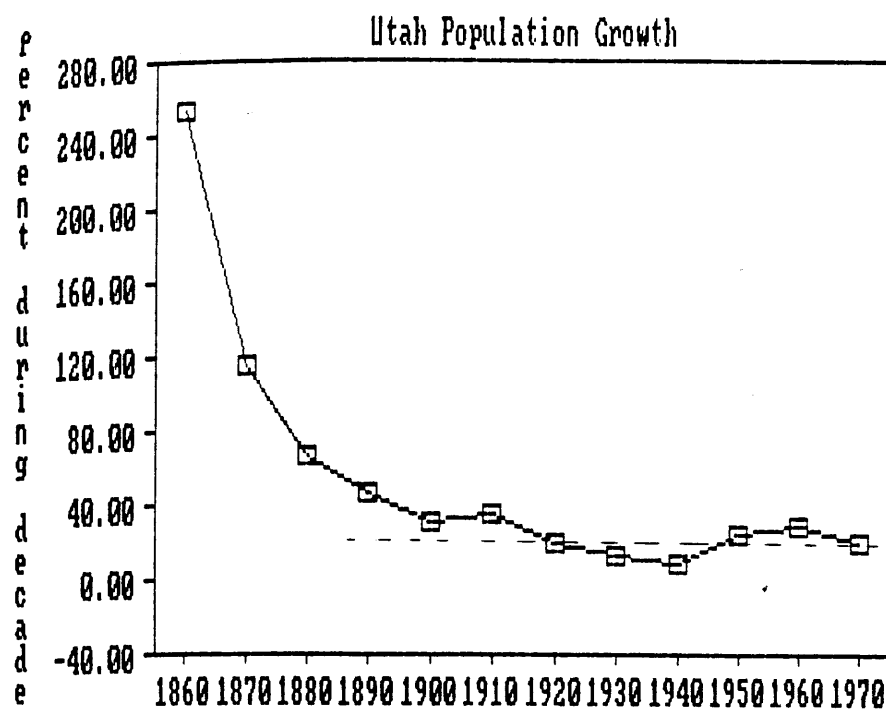


Fig. 1. Utah Population Growth, 1850 to 1970

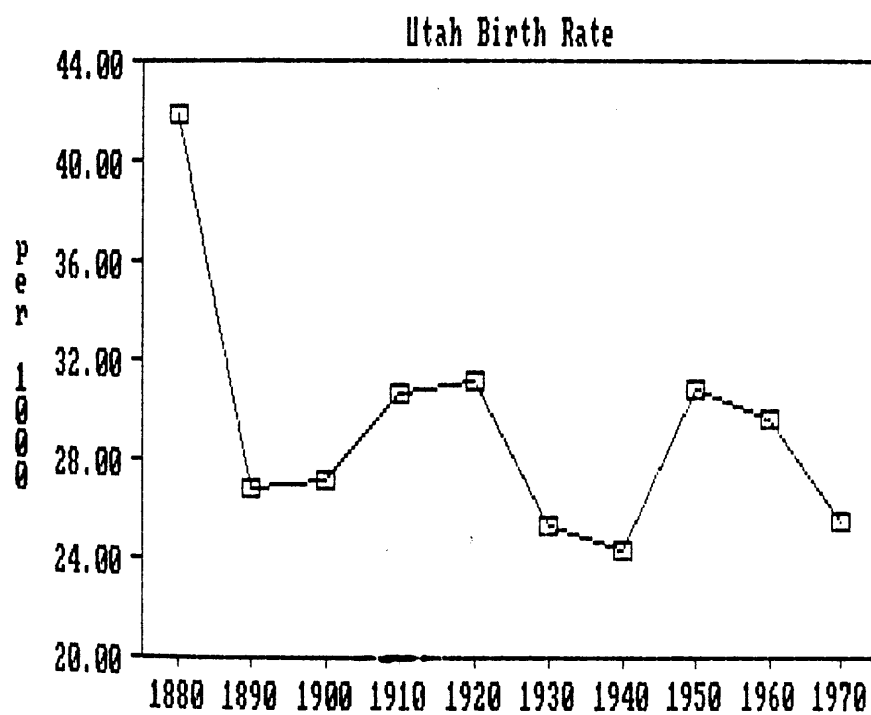


Fig. 2. Utah Birth Rate, 1880 to 1970

Migration likewise began to become more of a personal concern than a religious event. Even so, most Latter-day Saints would continue to cling dearly to the idea of their Zion. Decades would pass before this idea began to seriously weaken.

Not yet modernized, Utah entered a transitional phase, what French historian Fernand Braudel would call a "conjuncture," between traditional frontier-rural and modern America.²¹ This conjuncture began with statehood and continued down to World War Two. It was characterized by the unification of two previously separated economies--the Mormon cooperative commonwealth and the Gentile mining, railroad, and commercial establishment. Not only was this unification finally seen as desirable by Latter-day Saint officials, it also allowed for adjustments necessitated by Utah's natural resources and position in the economic geography of the nation.

By the end of the nineteenth century farming had expanded as far as traditional frontier-rural methods would allow. The high birthrate of Mormon settlers consumed available lands quickly. Irrigation resources developable by cooperative or even commercial methods had been completely exploited. More extensive projects, bringing additional acres under cultivation, would wait on the establishment of the Reclamation Service in 1902, as well as

²¹Fernand Braudel, On History, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 29-30.

on complex river basin water rights adjudication and compacts, and on available funds. The dry farm promise waited on the horizon for eager farm seekers but was still years in the future.

Mineral resource development had reached a similar plateau. Easily mined surface ores and minerals were more or less exhausted. Further development of Utah's ores and minerals would require massive open-pit or deep shaft methods--both expensive; especially in light of Utah's low-grade ores. Though such mines would be built, successful operation depended heavily on the price of the smelted metals in the world market. In particular, the Panic of 1907 dragged metal prices low enough to close many Utah mines. Mines laborers either waited out the slumps or fled to more profitable places.²²

Still another problematic feature of the first few decades of Utah's twentieth century economy is endemic to this day. The state's manufacturing establishments have always been hard pressed to compete with larger and better located firms on the West Coast. Manufactured items that once bore large price tags due to high transportation costs dropped in price as new railroads were added to the Mountain West's infrastructure. Utah manufacturing companies found competition tough from both Eastern and Pacific coast firms

²²Arrington and Alexander, A Dependent Commonwealth, 26; Joseph Stipanovich, "Falcons in Flight: The Yugoslavs," in Helen Z. Papanikolas, The Peoples of Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 368.

which enjoyed still better transportation and much larger economies-of-scale. Though few Utah firms failed as a result, this poor competitive position kept the growth of Utah manufacturing slow. The disintegration of the self-sufficient economy of kingdom days, and the slow growth of manufacturing, meant Utah's economy would serve the raw material needs of world and national markets. Utah capitalists shifted assets from diversified manufacturing to staple producing concerns. In response to competitive pressures, Utah's economy began to specialize in what it could do best.²³

Utahns adjusted to these exigencies during the Americanization period in a number of ways. Many adjustments involved migration. In answer to the shortage of farm land, land speculation became a permanent feature of Utah's economy. Previously discouraged by the tradition-minded Mormon theocracy on moral grounds, speculators sold thousands of acres of often marginal lands in Millard county, the Uintah basin, and parts of southeastern Utah. At the same time, there was a substantial migration out of Utah to the Snake River Plain of southern Idaho, the western valleys of Wyoming, the fertile Grande Ronde Valley of eastern Oregon, and northern Arizona. In addition, many Mormons established themselves in southern Alberta and

²³Arrington and Alexander, A Dependent Commonwealth, 7.

northern Mexico to escape prosecution for polygamy.²⁴

For the next several decades, most Latter-day Saint migration would circulate within the limits of the region that found its final shape early in the century.²⁵ Those who left Utah for Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming or Oregon risked cultural isolation but they farmed good land. Those who remained in Utah and moved onto marginal lands did so risking failure, but the Zion tradition was unbroken, the heritage intact. In the end, these intrastate migrants had the most at risk. The migrants to adjoining states were able to stretch the existing boundaries of Mormondom to include them but those who stayed could do little to improve their poor lands.

In answer to the problems of the mining economy, Utah's large majority of white, northern European Mormons relied upon foreign labor to absorb the shocks of a volatile market. Since the Latter-day Saints maintained a traditional aversion to mining, mine operators turned to outside sources for labor. As a result, a large assortment of European and east Asian ethnic groups entered the state beginning at the turn of the century. Tensions between these immigrants and Americans often ran high, particularly

²⁴Arrington and Alexander, A Dependent Commonwealth, 3-11.

²⁵Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Regions: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965): 191-220; and Meinig, "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation," *ibid.* 62 (1972): 164.

as labor unions began to organize during the first two decades of the century.²⁶

In answer to the needs for agricultural production Mormon Utahns did as they had always done: they farmed. Not only did they own most of the farms, they also held dear the agrarian lifestyle bred into them by both their American and Mormon heritage.²⁷ As traditional Mormon farmers became more and more American, they emphasized production of single crop cereal staples, fruit and sugar beet production, sheep raising and wool production, and truck farm vegetables such as celery. Increased specialization allowed farmers to survive in the marketplace.

Concurrent with this shift to staple agriculture was some growth in the amount of farmland available in the state. The dry farming movement promoted by such Utah

²⁶Utah Bureau of Immigration, Labor and Statistics (after 1913 named Utah Industrial Commission), Annual Reports, 1902-1922, passim; and Papanikolas, The Peoples of Utah, passim. For additional discussions of foreign labor in Utah see J. Kenneth Davies, "The Secularization of the Utah Labor Movement," UHQ 45 (1977): 108-134; Papanikolas, "The Great Bingham Strike of 1912 and Expulsion of the Padrone," UHQ 38 (1970): 121-133; "Life and Labor Among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon," UHQ 33 (1965): 289-315; Sheelwant B. Pawar, "An Environmental Study of the Development of the Utah Labor Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1968); Pawar, "The Structure and Nature of Labor Unions in Utah: An Historical Perspective, 1890-1920," UHQ 35 (1967): 236-255; Allan K. Powell, "The 'Foreign Element' and the 1903-04 Carbon County Coal Miners' Strike," UHQ 43 (1975): 125-154.

²⁷Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 25-26; Brian Q. Cannon, "Remaking the Agrarian Ideal: The New Deal's Rural Resettlement Program in Utah" (M.A. Thesis, Utah State University, 1986), 197-199.

notables as John A. Widtsoe offered a small boom to would-be farmers. The 1905 opening of large amounts of the Uinta Indian reservation to homestead entry likewise caught the interest of landless Utahns. Amendments to the U.S. homestead laws in 1909 and 1912 increased the amount of land obtainable by an individual to 320 acres for dry farms. The 1916 Stockraising Homestead Act allowed for an entire section for homesteads. Additionally, parts of the Strawberry Reclamation Project had opened several thousand acres in Utah Valley. Migration of the sons of second generation settlers seeking new farms became a feature of Utah life through World War One. Unfortunately, many of the new lands taken up were unsuited for long term agriculture. Though some individual dry-farmers were successful, many of the new communities built on the dry-farm promise lasted less than a generation. Drought and other disasters often fell upon hopeful settlers. What drought could not destroy, debt and discouragement often did. What little was left was picked up by New Deal agencies in the thirties and cast to the four winds.²⁸

The dry farm movement represented a last ditch (or rather, no ditch) attempt to prolong the traditional

²⁸See Cannon, "Remaking the Agrarian Ideal" for a full discussion of federal relocation projects in Utah. Cannon concludes that the Resettlement Administration's reach was longer than its grasp. Partly due to policy inconsistencies on the part of RA officials, and a persistent religious and agrarian ethos on the part of RA clients, the program came to very little in Utah.

frontier-rural mode past its time. As such, it was conservative and even retrogressive. In Utah and elsewhere in the West a great deal of land was placed into production that should never have felt the bite of a plow. Social, economic, and ecological disaster was the result. Those who could not read the signs of the new times fell victim to them.

But, during the second decade of the century Utah's farmers prospered. United States entry into the First World War gave most Utah businesses and farms a period of unprecedented growth and wealth. Demand for farm goods skyrocketed with prices for produce following suit. The market price for a bushel of wheat went from just under a dollar in 1914 to more than three dollars and fifty cents by 1919. Sugar, beans, and fruit experienced similar raises. Likewise, wartime demand for the mineral wealth of Utah's mining concerns hit new heights. Between 1910 and 1920 the state's population rose from 373,000 to 449,000--a gain of twenty percent--less than half attributable to natural growth.²⁹ The remainder came from a net in-migration. Utah rode high the windfalls of the wartime economy.

Unfortunately, at war's end agricultural markets collapsed. Wheat that had sold for three dollars a bushel was now selling for under a dollar. Prices on other Utah grown produce plummeted as well. Additionally, market

²⁹Arrington and Alexander, A Dependent Commonwealth, 42-55.

prices for Utah's metals and minerals dropped lower than their prewar levels. The net effect of the collapse of agricultural and mineral markets was turmoil and depression in Utah's economy. Large inflows of labor reduced to a trickle or stopped altogether. Many industrial workers and miners left the state. Farmers, still the majority of Utah's work force in the 1920s, were often forced off marginal lands as produce prices dropped below profitability levels. Many migrated from place to place, from farm to farm, climbing down the traditional agrarian ladder from farm owner to tenant to farm laborer.³⁰ This depressed condition for Utah farmers continued down to the start of World War Two, worsening in the years after the 1929 crash.

As mentioned above, a large majority of Utah's farmers were Mormon. Their land-based value system was formed by several generations of religious agrarianism. Their migration behavior, when they were compelled to move, was conditioned by their heritage. A good example of this can be seen in the migration experience of a single southern Utah town--Escalante.

Escalante was first settled in 1875 by residents of other southern Utah villages seeking better rangeland and a

³⁰Rey M. Hill, "The Farm Tenancy Situation in Utah," report submitted to the Utah State Planning Board, March, 1937, Utah State Archives (hereafter cited as U-SA), SE-21; J. Howard Maughan, "Farm Tenure in Utah," report on file, Land Planning Section, Land Utilization Division, U.S.D.A., U.S.A.C., Logan, Utah, 1930, U-SA, SE-21; Cannon, "Remaking the Agrarian Ideal," 1-4.

better climate for farming. In this instance, the settlement process was not directed by the central Mormon leadership. Nevertheless a communitarian ethos guided town fathers in dividing up farmland and in establishing irrigation works wherein all shared equally in the burdens and benefits. By 1880 Escalante could boast a population of 623. Because of the availability of vast rangelands in the surrounding area the town quickly developed an economy based largely on stock raising.

During the remainder of the nineteenth century Escalante's population grew slowly but steadily. However, with birth rates approaching thirty per thousand, it is clear that many born in Escalante migrated to other areas. Between 1880 and 1900 Escalante gained only 100 people. But during the prosperity years of the next two decades it was possible for the town to retain a large proportion of natural growth as well as take in a few newcomers. By 1920 Escalante's population had climbed to 1032. The farm collapse of the 1920s put an end to the town's growth. The birth rate for 1923, though, was still a very high 30.5 per thousand. Death rates stayed near the 12.5 per thousand figure. The resulting natural growth rate, 18 persons per thousand per year, put enormous pressure on available economic resources. In the enclosed and isolated valley in which the town was located, expansion of the economic base to accommodate such a high rate of growth was out of the question. The result? High migration out of town as

children reached maturity.³¹

One Escalante family's experience can illustrate the nature of this migration. Between 1929 to 1934 several interrelated families moved from Escalante to Shelly, Idaho. This mass movement (for such a small town) is an example of what sociologists and geographers call chain migration.³² Originally, one Escalante family crowded by limited farmland migrated to Shelly. Why Shelly was chosen is unknown. Once there, they set up what they claimed was a prosperous farm. As word of their success drifted back to Escalante, more families followed suit. The result was the flow described above. In the end, some found prosperity in Idaho, some did not. Many lived off little other than culled potatoes. Those who did not prosper in Shelly migrated to Ogden, Salt Lake City or Twin Falls and took industrial or service related jobs. In the depths of the Depression, few of the failures returned to farming. But at the same time, few considered migrating to places outside of traditional

³¹Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1952), 83-129. Unfortunately, Nelson does not address farm inheritance schemes used in Escalante during the Great Depression years.

³²For a good overview of migration theory see Curtis C. Roseman, Changing Migration Patterns Within the United States (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1977).

Mormondom.³³ For the Escalante migrants, what is often called the migration search field was limited to the Mormon culture region.

As agrarian in outlook and habit as most Utahns were, not all were farmers. There was a substantial population, approaching majority by 1930, that had come from urban settings for generations. These Utahns, Mormon or not, were far more apt to migrate out of the region than their rural counterparts. Those who left in the late twenties and throughout the thirties tended to be college educated or otherwise highly skilled.³⁴ The majority of these migrants went to the urban centers of California--the Los Angeles Basin and the San Francisco Bay Area. The 1940 census showed some 76,000 Utah natives living in California. Stakes of the LDS church were organized in Los Angeles in 1923, and in Hollywood and San Francisco in 1927. Eight more would be established in California during the 1930s. A small but notable colony of Utahns found a place in the federal establishment in Washington, D.C. on the coattails

³³Gaylord Barker, interview with author, Paradise, Utah, 27 December 1987. Mr. Barker's family had been one of the Escalante group to migrate to Shelly.

³⁴Stephen H. Kan and Yun Kim, "Religious Affiliation and Migration Intentions in Non-metropolitan Utah," Rural Sociology 46 (1981): 669-687 and passim; Michael B. Toney, Carol McKewen Stinner and Stephan Kan, "Mormon and NonMormon Migration In and Out of Utah," Review of Religious Research 25 (1983): 114-126. On the migration differential between urban and rural individuals in general see Peter A. Morrison and Judith P. Wheeler, "The Image of 'Elsewhere' in the American Tradition of Migration," (The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 1976, mimeographed), 7-8.

of Senator (and Mormon apostle) Reed Smoot and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.. However, Mormon membership in the nation's capital did not warrant a stake organization until 1940. In addition, a stake was set up in New York and Connecticut in 1934, indicating a scattering of a few thousand Mormons in those states. A small group of former Utah businessmen also established themselves in Hawaii. The Oahu Stake was organized in 1935.³⁵ The urban character of this migration can be easily seen in Table 1. Of the nineteen stakes formed outside the traditional Mormon culture region up to 1941 only one (Gridley, California) was organized in a predominately rural area.

Though Mormon missionary efforts had been going on for decades in most states, none had been so successful as to make stake organizations possible based strictly on converts. Considering, too, that many converts around the world still felt the need to "gather to Zion" makes plain the fact that stakes of the church, wherever they were found, were composed largely of people originating in the Mormon culture region.

³⁵Church Almanac, 1975 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1975), C8-C13, E8-E13. For Utahns in Washington, D.C. see Robert O'Brien, Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1978); Frank W. Fox, J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1980); and Milton R. Merrill, Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics (Logan: Utah State University, 1987); Deseret News, 8 December 1941. Since Hawaii had been "opened" for Mormon missionary work in 1854 and many prominent church leaders served there, one could almost argue that the islands were part of the Mormon culture region. Oahu was the site of the first operating Mormon temple outside of Utah.

Table 1

LDS Stakes Formed Outside Mormon Region through 1941

Los Angeles	1923	Long Beach	1936
Hollywood	1927	Chicago	1936
San Francisco	1927	Portland, Ore.	1938
Gridley, Ca.	1934	Seattle	1938
Sacramento	1934	San Fernando, Ca.	1939
Oakland	1934	Inglewood, Ca.	1939
New York	1934	Washington, D.C.	1940
San Bernardino	1935	Denver	1940
Oahu	1935	San Diego	1941
Pasadena	1936		

Total number of stakes outside Mormon region: 19

Total number of stakes worldwide, 1941: 139

Source: Church Almanac, 1975, C11-C13.

At this point, several things can be said about Utah's demographics during Utah's transition phase. The beginning of the period saw a leveling off in Utah's population growth rate from one hundred and two hundred percent figures per decade to less than thirty percent per decade (see figure 1, p. 19). This coincided with the depletion of new farmlands as Utah began to fill up. From 1910 to 1980 the growth curve rose and fell slightly according to the general state of the world economy. Never again, however, will the growth rates experienced in frontier times be seen in Utah.

Utah's birth rate curve is likewise undulating (see figure 2, p. 19). After its collapse from forty-two births per thousand in 1880 to twenty-seven births per thousand in 1890 the rate began to climb slightly during the prosperity years of the 1900s and teens but never nearly as high as

during frontier-rural times. A peak of thirty-one per thousand was reached in 1920 immediately after the windfalls of the First World War. But, as farmers were plunged into depression as war markets collapsed, birth rates plunged as well. The general depression of the thirties further cut Utah's birth rate such that an all time low (though still five points above the national average) of twenty-four births per thousand was recorded for 1940. The curve leapt up again in the 1940s, mostly the result of the postwar baby boom.

Both growth figures and birth rates indicate a changing way of life for Utahns. The days of expansion and settlement were over and gone for good. In some places, the amount of cultivated farm land was actually shrinking as nature exacted a heavy toll for overexpansion.³⁶ Sometime during the 1920s the percentage of Utahns living in cities exceeded the fifty percent mark. By 1960 seventy-five percent of the state's people were urbanites. In 1929, on the eve of the stock market crash, 16.5% of Utah's labor force worked on farms. By 1940 the percentage was down to 12.9%. By 1955 it was half that at 6.6%. During the same period construction workers increased from four percent of the work force to 8.6%. Manufacturing workers increased from just over eleven percent to just under fifteen percent. Similar gains were experienced in other non-farm

³⁶See note 32.

occupations. Though sometimes the gains amounted to only a few percentage points, added together they represent a significant departure from an economy based primarily upon agricultural production to one based on a wide variety of modern industrial and service enterprises as well as farming.³⁷

In terms of the several modernization theories presented earlier, several analogues can be drawn for each. Tonnies's gemeinschaft to gesellschaft hypothesis seems to follow the shift in community sentiment after the collapse of the Mormon co-op movements and the easing of social pressure against dealing with gentile businesses. Good business rather than close community identification began to condition economic relations. The world economy and not just the village economy became a matter of vital importance. Additionally, the dissolution of the so-called People's Party, made up entirely of Mormons, and the adoption of major American political parties around the time of statehood, is evidence of a shift from close community identification to involvement in larger spheres.

Henry Maine's status to contract shift is likewise supported by the rise of good business policies on the part of Latter-day Saints. Religious status began to matter less than the demands of contractual arrangements. Though the

³⁷ Statistical Abstract of Utah's Economy, 1964 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Review, 1964), tables 4, 5 and 6.

Mormons of Utah would still revere their "prophets, seers, and revelators," their secular behavior began to be less and less influenced by ecclesiastical status. Legal conflicts which were once settled by the local bishop or high council would increasingly be submitted to courts of law for resolution. Durkheim's mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity theory is also supported by the shift away from arbitrary restrictions on business associations. Theoretically, the Mormons already had an organic solidarity--a natural commonality of interests. However, as soon as restrictions against non-Mormon business relations were lifted, many Mormons naturally dealt with whomever profited themselves the most. In many cases, this was a non-Mormon.

The last modernization theory presented, Max Weber's traditional-charismatic to legal-rational, is perhaps the best fitting to Utah and Mormon history. One need only compare the power, the force, the boldness, the expansiveness, the charisma of Brigham Young with the quietude, the precision, the bureaucracy, the rationality, and the legalism of J. Reuben Clark to see that each man stood at opposite ends of a transition from one kind of world to another, very different kind.

The U.S. Census of 1940 counted 607,000 persons born in

Utah living in the United States, its territories or possessions. Of these, 433,000 still resided in Utah. The difference, 174,000 persons, were spread, albeit unevenly, over the rest of the country. California was the largest recipient with just under 76,000. Idaho was next with 35,000. Nevada had 11,000, Wyoming about 7,000. The other mountain states followed closely behind. States in the East had far fewer former Utahns--none more than a few thousand.

As these figures attest, some had broken ranks and deserted Zion. Nevertheless, in that last full year before the war Mormons in Utah and the surrounding culture region could still boast that most of their sons and daughters remained safely enclosed within "the mountain bulwark." However, as a result of the great upheavals of the Second World War, much of that safety would be blasted away. The war effort would involve Utahns in national and international affairs to a degree previously unknown. Tens of thousands of Utah servicemen and women would be sent to all theaters of the war. The experience would profoundly change them. Returning, veterans would receive education and home loans under one of several G.I. benefit laws. Their ability to pursue their life's dreams and goals was encouraged at every turn by a grateful nation.

After all, the whole world lay at America's feet. An entirely new sense of national efficacy swept the country. And, just as the United States as a whole would finally come of age as a result of the war, Utah would grow up as well.

At war's end, the imaginary boundaries that surrounded the Mormon culture region would be so thoroughly pierced that little resistance would be felt in crossing them. The end result was what historian Jan Shipps has called the "scattering of the gathered."³⁸ As late as December 6th, 1941, though, this was hardly imagined by isolated and provincial Utahns. Theirs was a culture on the verge.

³⁸Jan Shipps, "The Gathering of the Scattered and the Scattering of the Gathered," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Western History Association, Los Angeles, October, 1987.

CHAPTER II

"THERE IS A BUGLE CALL IN THE EAST":

UTAH, LATTER-DAY SAINTS, AND THE

SECOND WORLD WAR

1

The bombing of Pearl Harbor on Sunday, December 7th, 1941 looms large as a milestone in Utah's history. It marks the end of a social and economic era that began with Mormon capitulation and subsequent Utah statehood in the 1890s. In place of New Jerusalem stood the edifices of modern commercial life. Utah's industrial capacity and markets were small, and much of its farming was archaic and backward, but, still, the state's copper miners and farmers served world markets and were either rewarded or chastened by the rise and fall of those markets. By 1941 the majority of Utah's residents lived in cities--modern commerce fed them and kept them clothed. On the eve of American involvement in the Second World War, Utah was a very different place from what it had been less than a half century before. But the aftermath of the Japanese attack changed Utah as much as any commercial or religious accommodation did, and certainly more than the reciprocal constitutional accommodation. Utah's new era would be rough cut by the chisels of war, sandpapered smooth by a permanent and pervasive military establishment, and varnished to a high gloss by a political conservatism that

has, at least in part, been the result of World War Two.¹ To one degree or another, Utah's future flew beside the Japanese bombers on their way to Hawaii.

Japanese bombs began falling on U.S. soil at ten fifty-five in the morning, Mountain Standard Time. At that very minute church-going members of the state's Latter-day Saint majority were participating in ten o'clock Sunday school meetings. Other churches were likewise engaged in their morning devotions. In California the Mormon Male Chorus, a Bay Area missionary group made up entirely of former Utahns, was preparing to sing in portentous coincidence the anthem "There is a Bugle Call in the East" at the isolated San Francisco Ward. By noontime in Utah, in California, and around the nation the shadow of war had darkened every door and chilled every heart. Radio reports and word of mouth had spread the news: the country was at war. For the rest of that "day of infamy" Salt Lake City streets were nearly empty as people stayed close to their radios to hear the latest developments.² The next day, December 8th, Congress declared war and the nation immediately began preparations. With minuteman like speed all segments of American society jumped into the fray. Even Utahns, seemingly isolated and enclosed by "the strength of the hills," wasted no time in

¹See Gerald E. Hansen, "The Conservative Movement in Utah After World War Two," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1962).

²Salt Lake Tribune, 8 December 1941.

organizing for the duration.

Monday, the eighth of December, 1941 was a busy day. In the morning Utah's Governor Herbert B. Maw declared a state of emergency and proclaimed defense laws passed earlier that year to be in effect. These laws restricted sale of explosives and provided for the appointment of special police officers to protect public property. In the afternoon Maw met with commanders of the Utah Highway Patrol to discuss security plans. A few hours earlier he had received telegrams from key army and navy commanders in the West asking for cooperation from Utah authorities in protecting power and water facilities, highways, bridges and, of course, munitions plants--all vital to the war effort. Maw was able to report that local members of the American Legion were already standing guard over the larger dams in the state.³

Already thinking in terms of larger national needs Maw sent telegrams to the governors of California, Oregon, and Washington pledging Utah's help and facilities in the event of a west coast attack. He solicited suggestions for a "program of cooperation" to run throughout the war. Oddly enough, the governor assumed that if California cities were bombed former Utahns and families of Utahns living there

³Proclamations, Herbert B. Maw Papers, U-SA, SE-1, 23.4 (herreafter cited as Maw Papers); Deseret News, Salt Lake City, 8 December 1941.

would be evacuated back to Utah.⁴ Though Maw's provincial sense may have been distorted, his geographic sense was not. Utah was an excellent place for protected military and industrial sites. The state's strategic value would be well exploited in the months and years to come.

Immediate response on the part of government officials was not limited to governors and generals. The day after Pearl Harbor U.S. Grazing Service representatives met in a previously planned conference in Salt Lake City. R.H. Rutledge, the national director of the Grazing Service, told the state and regional grazing officials that "we must do everything we can to keep the ranges in the best condition so that farmers and livestock men of the nation will be able to supply the United States and her allies."⁵ Utah's resident FBI agent then told the group that "watchfulness in out of the way places" would be the biggest contribution the Grazing Service could make to national defense. Without being told, sheriffs and other county officials in Utah were already exercising watchfulness. Earlier in the day authorities in Ogden and in Weber county at large issued orders requiring all residents to register each gun and report the number of rounds of ammunition in their possession.

As important members of the Utah establishment, Mormon

⁴Charles A. Sprague (governor of Oregon) to Maw, 15 December 1941, Maw Papers; Deseret News, 8 December 1941.

⁵Deseret News, 8 December 1941.

church officials also responded quickly to the national emergency. The First Presidency of the church issued a statement, printed in December 8th's Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune, expressing regret that war had spread to the United States and the Pacific basin. The statement was meant to dispel ambivalence on the part of Latter-day Saints toward war by concluding: "we of America must meet the full obligations of a lofty patriotism and a true allegiance to our country." Though this statement reflected the customary unity of high church councils, it did not reflect unanimity. In particular, J. Reuben Clark, First Councilor to President Heber J. Grant and former State Department official, opposed American involvement in the war. Though his anti-war position was softened slightly by the attack on Pearl Harbor, he never gave up the belief that American participation in the world-wide conflict was a mistake. Unofficially, as a private but still influential citizen, he worked to prevent, or at least to slow, the involvement of Utahns and Mormons in the war. His activities in this regard won him a place in the FBI's anti-war investigation files. Unintimidated by the government investigation he lent whatever support he could to the very small number of Mormons seeking status as conscientious objectors.⁶

⁶D. Michael Quinn, J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 197-219. For a broad based treatment of Mormonism and war see Eugene England, "The Tragedy of Vietnam and the Responsibility of Mormons," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 2 (1967): 68-81; D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon

Clark's viewpoints notwithstanding, the day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor was also busy for LDS church authorities as they sought information regarding the safety of former Utahns and missionaries in Hawaii. Some 15,000 LDS members, including "natives," lived in the territory. First Presidency councillor David O. McKay estimated the Utah "colony" in the several hundreds. The December 8th issue of the Deseret News carried an article on Utahns in Hawaii and included the names of several prominent church and business leaders. The Oahu Stake had just completed a new tabernacle (a large meetinghouse intended for stake-wide meetings), the towers of which were clearly visible from Pearl Harbor. Japanese bombers had flown over the LDS temple located on the other side of the island. The impression given by the newspaper account was that outposts of Utah culture were deep in the fray. To the great relief of Latter-day Saints, neither the tabernacle nor the temple were touched by the bombers.⁷ However, in a touch of irony

Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism," Pacific Historical Review 43 (1974): 342-66; Robert Jeffrey Scott, "Mormonism and War: An Interpretive Analysis of Selective Mormon Thought Regarding Seven American Wars," (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974); Gordon C. Thomasson, ed., War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism (Santa Barbara: Mormon Heritage, 1972); and Ronald W. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers and the State: Mormon Leaders Respond to the Dilemmas of War," Sunstone 7 (1982): 43-56. The Mormon church had no official policy on conscientious objectors. The number of LDS conscientious objectors is impossible to determine. According to Walker, the number probably exceeded ten.

⁷Deseret News, 8 December 1941.

not uncommon to war, it was learned after a few days that J. Reuben Clark's son-in-law had been killed during the attack. Several months later, newspapers reported that Utahns were among the first POW's captured in attacks on Guam and Wake Islands within days of Pearl Harbor.⁸

Members of the general public reacted as quickly to the crisis as federal, state, and church officials did. The America First Committee of Utah issued a statement the morning of the eighth reversing their previous anti-war stand and pledging "one hundred percent support" for the U.S. war effort. The American Mothers Sentinel League met in the Hotel Newhouse to likewise declare their loyalty and to make plans for morale boosting efforts and programs. Letters and telegrams poured into the governor's office from scores of Utah labor unions, social clubs, professional groups, and ethnic associations pledging full support in the crisis--including the Utah Communist Party.⁹ And, predictably, but to little avail, the Salt Lake City Japanese-American Citizens League issued a press release guaranteeing their loyalty and support in the current crisis. The release pointed out that eighteen of their members were already serving in the armed forces around the

⁸Cheryl Black Roper, "Follow the Gleam: The True Experiences of Ray H. Church," (unpublished typescript, Utah State Historical Society, MAN A1274), 13-15. Mr. Church was a Marine Corps military policeman and was captured on Guam 11 December 1941.

⁹General letter file for December 1941, Maw Papers.

world. But, by the time the Japanese-American statement was printed in the newspapers, FBI agents in Utah had already arrested nine Japanese aliens and held them for investigation.¹⁰

Governor Maw was not unsympathetic to the difficult situation faced by Japanese living in Utah. Nevertheless, he issued an order to all alien Japanese to remain near their homes until county sheriffs contacted them. Some arrests were made.¹¹ The Salt Lake County sheriff asked employers to report names and addresses of Japanese workers and to issue them letters of identification stating their names and employment. Japanese were to carry these at all times. For the first few days after Pearl Harbor, many employers sent Japanese workers home. The Union Pacific Railroad dismissed Japanese track workers from crews working on the line between Salt Lake City and Delta. Other employers, considering their businesses vital to the war effort, either reassigned their Japanese or sent them home. Within a few short months, nearly all Japanese, American citizens or not, would be sent to relocation camps throughout the West. Most Utah Japanese were interned along with others from several western states at the Topaz

¹⁰Salt Lake Tribune, 10 December 1941.

¹¹Arrests by state officers were soon stopped by the U.S. Justice Department. Federal agencies claimed exclusive jurisdiction over enemy aliens.

relocation Center in Millard county.¹²

Many Utahns resented the presence of the "Japs," especially those Japanese furloughed from the relocation centers to work Utah's farms and factories. Otherwise responsible civic groups such as the Box Elder chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Ogden Building and Construction Trades Council petitioned state and federal officials to have Japanese "treated as prisoners of war" and to "remove all [of them] from the United States." Even the state legislature was not exempt from racial hysteria. During the Winter, 1943 session it considered a bill making land ownership by Asiatics illegal.¹³ The bill was vetoed by the governor.

In spite of the legislature's ethnocentricity, petitions and letters expressing racial hatred fell mostly on deaf ears. Elbert D. Thomas, one of Utah's U.S. senators, responded to such expressions with cold courtesy.

¹²Deseret News, 8 December 1941; Salt Lake Tribune, 8 December 1941, 10 December 1941. Full discussions of Japanese in Utah and of the relocation camps can be found in Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor and Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese-Americans: From Relocation to Redress (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986); Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, "Japanese Life in Utah," in Papanikolas, The Peoples of Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 113-138.

¹³Citizen to Herbert B. Maw, 7 December 1941, Maw Papers; Resolution, Ogden Building and Construction Trades Council, 1 September 1943, Utah State Historical Society Library (hereafter cited as USHS), Senator Elbert D. Thomas Papers (hereafter cited as EDTP), Box 62, P-4; Utah State Senate Bill (hereafter cited as S.B.) 5, 25th Legislature, 1943, U-SA, SL-O, 25.14; telegram from Thomas to Maw, 2 March 1943, EDTP, Box 68, UT-1.

He had served as a Latter-day Saint mission president in Japan between 1920 and 1923. He knew the Japanese people well and, as is often the case with missionaries, held a special affection for them. Though his knowledge of the Japanese language and culture was put to use in shortwave propaganda broadcasts to Japan on the seventh day of each month, Thomas saw no need to use racism as a weapon of war.

Though common in the United States, Utah's Xenophobia was one of the state's least modern attributes. However, in the months and years following Pearl Harbor many Utah servicemen bound overseas and workers migrating to war jobs in other areas of the country would, through contact with all types of peoples and races, would lose much of their cultural chauvinism and provincial inwardness.

2

The opening of hostilities in the Pacific did not take Utah completely by surprise. Governor Maw's first official message to the legislature after his inauguration in January, 1941 proposed a build-up of Utah industry and an aggressive lobbying program to bring defense contracts to the state. Though he was, in part, following the lead of President Roosevelt's rearmament program begun after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, Maw's approach was also a continuation of eight years of New Deal policy and economic

intervention on the part of state government.¹⁴

Somewhat surprisingly, most Utahns embraced the New Deal wholeheartedly. Maw's Democratic party made enormous inroads in Utah politics during the New Deal era. The landslide victory for Roosevelt in 1932 carried many Democrats into Utah office. In just a few years Democrats were able to make very nearly a clean sweep. The election of 1934 placed only four Republicans in Utah's twenty-three member state Senate. In the state House of Representatives the mix was even thinner: four Republicans to fifty-six Democrats. With this kind of legislative backing state agencies and local governments rushed to participate in the dozens of federal programs set up, some rather hastily, under the New Deal. By 1941, the relatively modern idea that governments should involve themselves in the process of economic development was well established.

Additionally, the liberalization of Utah government was a sign that the secular influence of the LDS church was at an all time low among Mormon voters. In spite of well expressed conservative and anti-New Deal opinions from such church hierarchs as President Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, and Senator (Apostle) Reed Smoot overwhelming majorities were given to FDR, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, and other "liberal" democrats. The traditional authority of charismatic church officials had waned and counted for very

¹⁴Senate Journal, 23d Legislature, 13 January 1941.

little by the 1930s. Soon, it would become customary for the Mormon leadership to refrain almost entirely from taking political sides on specific issues. Conservative voices notwithstanding, as Utah officials, businessmen, and workers geared up for the Second World War they did so by cultivating a closer partnership with the federal establishment than at any time in the state's history.

One of Maw's first acts of cultivation was to establish the Department of Publicity and Industrial Development within state government. The purpose of this department was to be on the look-out for prospective industrial plants and defense contracts, and to prepare proposals on how Utah should compete for them. Additionally, Utah's congressional delegation, New Deal Democrats all, worked closely with Maw and his new department as front-line lobbyists and boosters in Washington. The governor's energetic approach to Utah's industrial development was noticed by at least one national business magazine which ran an article on the state's efforts to attract new industry. The article praised Maw for his efforts and reported that past governors and other state officials had traditionally "frowned on encouraging new industries and branch plants because of their doubts about the type of population that might be attracted." The article concluded that Xenophobia in high places had slowed modern economic development in Utah.¹⁵

¹⁵"Utah Steps Out," Business Week 12 (15 March 1941): 25.

Maw's first success came with the news that the War Department would build a large small-arms manufacturing plant on the Wasatch Front. Constructed at a cost of \$30 million between June, 1941 and December of that year, the arms plant required some 7,000 workers to construct. Remington Arms Company received the contract to operate the plant and started production shortly after Pearl Harbor. At the height of the war effort, the Remington plant employed more than 10,000 people; clearly a coup for Utah boosters.

In April of 1941 Governor Maw and Utah's congressional delegation met with President Roosevelt in Washington. Roosevelt disclosed that Utah was being considered as a site for a major iron and steel plant to be built by the Defense Plant Corporation. Utah's protected inland location, as well as its proximity to iron ore and necessary raw minerals, gave the state substantial strategic value in the eyes of war planners. Elated, Maw told the president that if Utah got the small-arms factory and this new steel mill there would be "no more unemployed in the state."¹⁶ After the usual period of deliberations and delay federal planners announced that the plant would be built in Utah Valley, west of the town of Orem, near a railroad siding named Geneva. Construction began in the Spring of 1942 and employed as many as 10,000 workers until completed during the winter of 1943-44. Production began early in 1944. By January of

¹⁶Salt Lake Tribune, 13 April 1941.

1945 employment reached 4,500 at the plant.

Other industrial activities in Utah related directly to the war effort included the Eitel-McCullough Radio Tube Plant employing some 1,500 workers and the Standard Parachute Company of Manti which employed about 450. Utah's existing mines and smelters worked around the clock to meet defense needs for copper, iron ore, aluminum, coal, and other accessory minerals. Additionally, ore deposits of exotic but strategically vital metals such as tungsten and vanadium were located and mined during the war.¹⁷

Other elements of the economy reaped large rewards as a side result of Utah's industrial build-up. Utah's farmers saw the first real prosperity since the First World War. Total farm income for the state in 1938 was a meager \$44 million; an average of about \$1,732 per farm. In 1942 total farm income was almost doubled at \$81 million; an average of \$3,076 per farm. Wartime price supports and an almost three million acre increase in the amount of cultivated farmland account for the boost. Non-defense manufacturing, housing construction, transportation, wholesale and retail trade, service, and finance industries flourished as well, in spite of wage and price controls, rationing, and war production quotas. Much of the great improvement in Utah's economic conditions was the result of

¹⁷Arrington and Anthony T. Cluff, Federally-Financed Industrial Plants Constructed in Utah During World War Two, Utah State University Monograph Series, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (Logan: Utah State University, 1969), passim.

defense related industrial build-up.

However, as important as defense manufacturing was, it was not the only factor in the transformation of the state's economy. A large amount of growth resulted from greatly expanded military operations in the state. Due to its favorable geographic position deep in the isolated and impenetrable West Utah was chosen as the site for eleven military installations: six war material distribution depots, two Air Force training centers, one Army induction center, one material testing site, and one Army hospital. Not only was Utah virtually invulnerable to attack, it was also criss-crossed by four major transcontinental railroads. Its location on the transportation grid made it nearly equidistant from major ports on the West Coast. In addition, the availability of vast areas of uninhabited public domain made Utah one of the most economical and least disruptive sites for large military bases.

The war material depots proved to be the largest wartime employers in Utah. The first of these, the Ogden Arsenal, had been established at the end of World War One. Before Pearl Harbor the facility was enlarged at a cost of nearly \$10 million. Thereafter, it was used for munitions assembly and packing. At the height of the arsenal's operations in 1944 more than 6000 civilians were employed. The Clearfield Naval Supply Depot was built in 1942 to store and distribute naval stores safe from possible coastal attack. As war material needs mushroomed during the war the

Army built the Tooele Army Supply Depot to handle overflow from the Ogden Arsenal. The Utah General Depot north of Ogden, built in 1941, was the largest single military supply depot in the country. It employed as many as 4,000 civilians and, as the war wore on, as many as 5,000 Italian prisoners of war. As large an employer as the Utah General Depot was, no employer in Utah offered as many jobs as the Ogden Air Depot at Hill Field, topping more than 15,000 civilians. Last in size and importance during the war was the Deseret Chemical Depot built early in 1942 to store dangerous chemical warfare materials near the Dugway Proving Grounds in western Tooele County.¹⁸

Utah's strategic location made it as useful for

¹⁸Material for this sketch of military supply depots is taken from a series of articles on Utah's military establishments which ran in the Utah Historical Quarterly during 1963, 1964, and 1965: Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "They Kept 'Em Rolling: The Tooele Army Depot, 1942-1962," UHQ 31 (1963): 3-25; Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "Sentinels on the Desert: The Dugway Proving Ground, 1942-1963, and Deseret Chemical Depot, 1942-1955," UHQ 32 (1964): 32-43; Leonard J. Arrington, Thomas G. Alexander, and Eugene A. Erb, Jr., "Utah's Biggest Business: Ogden Air Materiel Area at Hill Air Force Base, 1938-1965," UHQ 33 (1965): 9-33; Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "Supply Hub of the West: Defense Depot Ogden, 1941-1964," UHQ 32 (1964): 99-121; Leonard J. Arrington and Archer L. Durham, "Anchors Aweigh in Utah: The U.S. Naval Supply Depot at Clearfield, 1942-1962," UHQ 31 (1963): 109-126. In addition see James L. Clayton, "An Unhallowed Gathering: The Impact of Defense Spending on Utah's Population Growth, 1940-1964," UHQ 34 (1966): 227-242; James B. Allen, "Crisis on the Home Front: The Federal Government and Utah's Defense Housing in World War II," Pacific Historical Review 38 (1969): 407-428; and John E. Christensen, "The Impact of World War II," in Richard D. Poll et al, Utah's History (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1978), 498-500.

administration and training bases as it was for war industry and material storage. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, the Army announced that its Ninth Service Command would move from the San Francisco Presidio to Ft. Douglas in Salt Lake City. Clerical work associated with the Ninth Service Command's operations was so extensive that areas of the nearby University of Utah campus were leased to the Army for the duration, notably the fourth floor of the student union building and the Fieldhouse which served as a barracks. In addition to Ninth Service operations, Fort Douglas was used as an interservice induction and separation center. Inductees would receive their first few days of training before being shipped out to larger training camps.¹⁹

Early in the Spring of 1940 the Army Air Corps set aside a vast tract of public land in Utah's West Desert for a bombing and gunnery range. Construction on runways and other needed facilities began the following Winter near Wendover, on the Utah and Nevada border. Operations at the base began during the Summer of 1941. By the end of 1943 the Wendover Bombing Range, by then the largest military reserve in the world, employed more than 2,000 civilians and 17,500 Air Corps personnel. In addition to the Wendover

¹⁹University of Utah Board of Regents minutes (hereafter cited as UUBR), 10 July 1942, U-SA, SE-32, 1.1; Leroy E. Cowles, University of Utah and World War Two (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1949), 59-62; Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "The U.S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley: Fort Douglas, 1862-1965," UHQ 33 (1965): 336-350.

base the Air Corps built a training camp, Kearns Air Force Base, in the western Salt Lake Valley. The Kearns base trained more than 90,000 airmen per year between 1942 and 1945. After the war, the base, which was fully equipped with water, sewer, and gas service, was sold to private developers for conversion into civilian housing.²⁰

Almost immediately on the heels of Pearl Harbor the Army announced plans to construct a large hospital complex somewhere in the Mountain West. Just as immediately Governor Maw, and Senators Thomas and Murdock, began lobbying for the hospital to be built in Utah. According to Army specifications the site selected had to be a town removed and protected from possible military targets, and having a population of more than 5,000 but less than 18,000. All utilities including a sewer system had to be in place. Thirteen Utah cities fit that criteria: Beaver, Brigham City, Cedar City, Delta, Ephraim, Fillmore, Logan, Mount Pleasant, Nephi, Price, Richfield, St. George, and Vernal. Each town submitted a report on possible cites to Senator Thomas who then acted as spokesman in Washington. Maw's and Thomas's efforts were successful. The Army chose Brigham City as the site for what was named Bushnell Army Hospital. Construction on the sixty-building, 3,000 bed facility

²⁰Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "World's Largest Military Reserve: Wendover Air Force Base, 1941-63," UHQ 31 (1963): 324-329; Thomas G. Alexander, "Brief Histories of Three Federal Military Installations in Utah: Kearns Army Air Base, Hurricane Mesa, and Green River Test Complex," UHQ 34 (1966): 122-137.

commenced on the First of March, 1942. It received its first patients in October of that year. Before the hospital closed in 1946 more than 13,000 G.I.s had been treated.²¹

The impact of all this wartime defense build-up on Utah's economy and society was not slight. Between 1941 and 1943 direct defense spending created more than 50,000 new jobs in the state. Census figures for 1940 show 32,358 Utahns, or eighteen percent of the labor force, out of work. By 1942, not only was this figure chopped down to practically zero by the defense boom, but for the first time since 1910 Utah experienced a net in-migration of some 20,000 workers. Though most of these newcomers left the state as wartime jobs dried up, some stayed. By 1945 nearly twenty-eight percent of civilian income in Utah came from direct government employment. Peacetime conditions caused deep cuts in defense employment but, since it was an uneasy peace, about 14,000 Utahns remained on defense payrolls in 1948.²²

Utah was not the only western state to experience wartime migration during the war. The entire West witnessed a frontier-like boom in population, especially the Pacific

²¹Maw to citizen of Provo, Utah, 21 December 1941, Maw Papers; telegram from Maw to thirteen Utah mayors, *ibid.*; Thomas G. Alexander, "Utah War Industry During World War II: A Human Impact Analysis," *UHQ* 51 (1983): 73-92.

²²Utah State Department of Employment Security, Utah Employment Security Digest 4 (April 1943). Population and military employment figures compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1951 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951).

coast states. Between 1940 and 1947 Washington, Oregon, and California gained nearly forty percent of 1940 figures compared to the national average of less than nine percent. Other western states gained as well, though less dramatically. Not surprisingly, the great influx favored cities over rural areas intensifying the West's urban nature.

Notwithstanding large numbers of migrant workers, labor turnover during the war was an ongoing problem. In some of the larger defense plants, particularly those built after Pearl Harbor in underdeveloped urban areas, annual turnover was as great as one hundred percent. Often, this was caused by poor living or working conditions as large numbers competed for limited living, shopping, and recreation facilities. As often, though, it was the result of a restlessness and footlooseness brought on by the war itself. The possibilities of greener pastures elsewhere must have seemed (and often were) very real in the ballooning labor market of the war years. The typical wartime migrant tended to be a relatively unskilled worker seeking improved economic and vocational opportunities. Ethnic diversity was, therefore, commonplace among the workers. Some 250,000 Southern Blacks and nearly half a million Mexican "Braceros" helped to alleviate labor shortages in Western war industries. Many of these, especially the blacks, remained in the West after the war, ending forever the ethnic

homogeneity common in most of the region.²³

Additionally, wartime labor needs helped change forever long-held beliefs about proper gender roles as women began to enter the work force in large numbers. This was true even in Utah, where such beliefs have always been well articulated. The 1940 census counted 28,777 women fourteen years of age or older in the work force, or slightly less than fifteen percent of all women in that age bracket. Forty-one percent of these were working in traditional women's jobs: teachers, nurses, stenographers, and domestics. By October, 1942 the Utah State Department of Employment Security reported 33,500 women employed by concerns covered by the federal Employment Security Act. This figure did not include women employed by federal, state or municipal agencies--including school teachers and those working directly for defense installations. Unfortunately, figures are not available on the number of women workers employed by public agencies. Considering that supply and logistics support was the chief mission of army and navy activities in Utah, one can assume large numbers of women office workers were employed. The largest single increase in women employment, though, was in manufacturing. By October, 1942 some 12,000 women were employed in various factory jobs compared to only 3,500 in January of that same

²³Gerald D. Nash, The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 38-40, 56.

year. Courses in radio, welding, aircraft construction, and equipment repair were opened to women within months of American entry into the war by military authorities and Utah's colleges and trade schools.²⁴

In Utah, the in-migrations of workers, along with the presence at any given time during the war of more than 50,000 military personnel (an amount equal to almost ten percent of Utah's 1940 population), put a permanent end to Utah's provincial isolation. The state had been invaded as it were from without. The fear of outsiders expressed by state officials and church leaders in the past was now completely irrelevant. Outsiders had come, many to stay. Additionally, during the course of the war Utah's 65,667 servicemen and women (twelve percent of the state's 1940 population) would be scattered to all corners of the globe.

Of course, Utahns had already been traveling around the world for some time as missionaries and church authorities. But in doing so they did not open themselves much to the outside world. They went abroad in a cultural cocoon, offered Utah religion to the outside world, having been previously warned and fortified against that world's evils. Wartime military service was, on the other hand, a much different kind of experience. The realities of army or navy life threw LDS servicemen and women into close contact with others of very different religions, experiences, and values.

²⁴Utah Employment Security Digest, ibid. Cache American (Logan, Utah) 3 March 1942.

Though many maintained the ideal of separateness--the exclusive feeling of being Mormon--in practice most could not afford the luxury. This was, after all, war. Emotional and psychological energy would largely be spent in fighting off loneliness, boredom, and fear. Sometimes, it would be overspent just to stay alive. But in the process, as Utahns learned new ways of looking at the world, they would, in a sense, become as much citizens of the world as they were citizens of Utah.

3

Thus far this chapter has discussed war related issues without dealing squarely with one of the central facts of the Second World War: it was fought by human beings, individual men and women who collectively made up the great clashing armies and navies of the belligerent nations. For the most part these soldiers were little more than civilians dressed in ill-fitting uniforms. Global politics called them into service and tore them from their families, friends, educations, or careers. In many cases they would return scarred by wounds of the body or, perhaps more painful, wounds of the soul, or of the spirit, or of the mind. Some would not return at all. For all who did, even those who came back without so much as a scratch, their lives would be forever changed. Gone were the innocence and carefree days of youth. Their war experiences taught them that the world was a serious, even morbid place. In

foxholes and on battlefields they had lived a life most tentative--opportunities for growth and advancement given them thereafter would be grasped with a zeal.

On December 7th, 1941 there were some 8,000 Utahns already in various branches of the armed forces; 3,500 of these had been drafted since December, 1940 under the Selective Service and Training Act of that year. The draft bill of 1940 was the first peacetime conscription law in U.S. history. In many ways, it expressed the country's anxieties over events in Europe; particularly the fall of France. But Monday, December 8th needed no draft law in Utah. Volunteers flooded recruiting offices all over the state. Offices in Salt Lake City were staying open on a twenty-four hour basis and those in smaller communities were operating extended hours.²⁵ By the end of the first week after the Japanese attack several hundred Utahns had enlisted.

The initial boost in recruitment in Utah was similar to that experienced in most parts of the country. Indignation at the attack on Hawaii, war excitement, and patriotic fervor were fairly common. Less common, however, was a state with a sixty-five percent majority of a faith which had, during the more than one hundred years of its existence, expressed a continuing ambivalence toward war.

²⁵U.S. Selective Service Administration, Selective Service and Victory (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), 356-366; Deseret News, 8 December 1941.

The First Presidency message of December 8th mentioned above implied that the duty to country superseded private conscience. The Presidency strengthened this stand while declaring their opposition to war at the first General Conference after Pearl Harbor:

The Church is and must be against war. The Church itself cannot wage war, unless and until the Lord shall issue new commands. It cannot regard war as a righteous means of settling international disputes; these should and could be settled . . . by peaceful negotiations and adjustments. [However, when] constitutional law . . . calls the manhood of the Church into the armed service of any country to which they owe allegiance, their highest civic duty requires that they heed that call.²⁶

Couched in fine legal distinctions, there was the Church's official position. Contained in the first part of the statement is a thinly veiled attack on the European statesmen who allowed war to flare up on the continent, and on Roosevelt's diplomatic failings with Japan. Privately, President Heber J. Grant believed Roosevelt had maneuvered Japan into war to serve his own political ends.²⁷

The second part of the statement, reportedly written by First Counselor J. Reuben Clark, provided a legal and ethical out for those church members living in countries where constitutional law had been trampled--notably Nazi Germany. Moreover, by characterizing wartime service as the "highest civic duty," the statement allowed for behavior

²⁶LDS Church, Conference Report, April 1942 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942), 89.

²⁷Walker, "Dilemmas of War," 51.

that fell short of the "highest" but still within acceptable limits. In any case, the Church had no official policy concerning conscientious objectors or draft dodgers, and attempted to remain aloof from wartime fervor.²⁸

The impact of the Presidency's statements concerning war and war service on members of the church is difficult to gauge. It seems unlikely that the majority of Latter-day Saints would, so recently, ignore the opinions of church leaders concerning the New Deal and then, in turn, adopt wholeheartedly their stand on civic duty during time of war --unless, of course, church membership was inclined to do so anyway. Evidence that this may have, at least partially, been true can be found in enlistment and draft figures. As of September 1st, 1945 65,667 Utahns had been in the various branches of the service. Of these, 26,246 (forty percent) had volunteered, 39,403 (sixty percent) were drafted. Utah was in twelfth place on the percentage of servicemen who enlisted on their own; thirty-six states had higher percentages of men who waited to be drafted. Washington state had the greatest percentage of enlistees at forty-seven percent. Mississippi had the lowest at twenty-two and a half percent. Without concluding that the people of one state were more patriotic than those of another, it seems reasonable to say that Utah was in the mainstream, or a little ahead, in terms of war fervor and excitement. Of

²⁸Walker, "Dilemmas of War," 51-52.

course, data are not available to determine the mix of Mormon to non-Mormon among Utah servicemen and women. Assuming the number reflects the mix in the general Utah population at the time, some sixty-five percent LDS, one can conclude that Latter-day Saint soldiers contributed heavily to the war effort, and without much moral quibbling.

Of some concern to Latter-day Saint authorities was the problem of how to keep LDS servicemen and women active in their faith when scattered so widely around the world. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, the First Presidency appointed Hugh B. Brown LDS coordinator of service affairs. His job was to act as liaison with Army and Navy chaplain officials, and, as far as possible, to establish whatever church organization was possible in both theaters of the war. In spite of Brown's efforts, religious meetings of Latter-day Saint servicemen were mostly irregular and ad hoc. Small groups would often come together and conduct rudimentary church services. For many, months would sometimes pass between formal meetings.

One of the major causes of this problem throughout the war was the dearth of officially appointed LDS chaplains in both branches of the service. Before U.S. entry into the war the quota set for LDS chaplains was fifteen. Throughout the war, though, no more than ten were on active duty. The First Presidency, Brown, and Utah's congressional delegation were unsuccessful in having the number on duty raised up to the quota. Additional problems came when small, lightweight

editions of LDS scriptures were to be mailed to all Mormon servicemen overseas. Bibles were made available through each unit's chaplain but no provision was made for the needs of unique denominations.²⁹

In the face of these pressures on their faith, servicemen reacted in different ways. Some clung tighter than ever to the religion of their youth and exercised every opportunity to reinforce their commitment. Others, exposed for the first time to the world at large, used the opportunity to experiment in the ways of the world far from the watchful eyes of parents and church leaders. Most LDS servicemen and women likely fell somewhere between these two extremes. However, at least one historian has suggested that many LDS G.I.s entered a long period of religious inactivity resulting from wartime pressures on what is usually a highly organized and tightly-knit church.³⁰ If this is so, returning veterans may have been freer of the conservative influences of the Mormon church than at any other time in its history.

As far as Utah at large is concerned, Selective Service registration classification figures for 1945 present a good picture of Utah demography during the war years--at least for men. Out of a total population of 278,620 males of all

²⁹LDS chaplain file (1942-1944), EDTP, box 51.

³⁰Jan Shipps, "The Gathering of the Scattered and the Scattering of the Gathered," (paper delivered at the Annual meeting of the Western History Association, 9 October 1987), 9-10.

ages 91,747 were liable for military service.³¹ Table 2 shows the classification for this group as of August 1st, 1945. Though the war in Europe had ended by this date, the Japanese war was still blazing. Moreover, military officials would not know until the August 6th and 9th bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that the war would soon end. Though controversy rages over this issue, it is likely that a full scale invasion of the Japanese mainland was planned requiring huge numbers of troops. Civilian inductions were not being relaxed. It is true that the limit for deferments by reason of age (class IV-A) was lowered from forty-four to thirty-eight in 1944. However, this was not done because the war was winding down but, rather, because troop strengths could be maintained without drafting the older men.

A quick glance at the figures makes a few things quite clear. Comparing the figure for the II-A,B (deferred in war production or other war effort) classification for ages eighteen through thirty-seven of nearly 20,000 with the II-C (deferred in agriculture) of a little more than 5,000 gives a striking picture of agriculture's importance relative to industrial production. More than twenty-one percent of the eighteen to thirty-seven age group was deferred in vital war

³¹This figure excludes those in the forty-five to sixty-four age bracket classified "IV-A Deferred due to age." In October, 1944 the deferred age was lowered to thirty-eight, and again in August, 1945 to twenty-six. See Selective Service and Victory, 62-64.

Table 2

Utah Selective Service Classification, 1 August 1945

Class	18 yrs	19-25	26-29	30-33	34-37	18-37
II-A,B	209	619	2,266	7,651	8,545	19,290
II-C	88	519	942	1,798	1,970	5,317
III-D	4	40	82	43	43	212
IV-B	----	----	----	----	----	25
IV-C	----	----	----	----	----	91
IV-D	----	----	----	----	----	319
IV-E	----	----	----	----	----	7
IV-F	667	3,252	2,251	2,041	1,818	10,029
Total	2,985	34,548	19,650	18,155	16,404	91,747

II-A,B Deferred in support of war production
 or other war effort.
 II-C Deferred in agriculture.
 III-D Deferred for dependency reasons.
 IV-B Official deferred by law.
 IV-C Alien.
 IV-D Ministers and divinity students.
 IV-E Conscientious objector--available for work
 of national importance.
 IV-F Rejected for military service; physical,
 mental or moral reasons.

Source: Director of Selective Service, Selective
 Service and Victory (Washington, D.C.: U.S.
 Government Printing Office, 1948)

effort compared to less than six percent in agriculture.
 Moreover, the frequently held belief that the agricultural
 deferment was abused by the sons of established farmers was
 probably false. A far better way of staying out of the
 service during the Second World War was to train for a vital
 skill and work in war industry.

The other classification figures more or less speak for
 themselves. At any given time during the war about 10,000
 were classified IV-F and rejected for military service.

Though common sense might suggest that Latter-day Saint Utah would have had a higher proportion of IV-D deferments for its lay clergymen the figures do not show it. The 319 listed in this category represented 3/10 of a percent of total Utah registration--a figure right at the national average. The smallest number in Table 1, class IV-E conscientious objectors, was far below the national average in terms of a percentage of all registrants.

By the end of the war there were a total of 62,107 Utahns in the service: 39,592 in the Army, 18,707 in the Navy, 2,568 in the Marine Corps and 1,240 in the Coast Guard. Of the total, 1,343 were women: 581 WACs, 546 WAVs, 143 in the Marine Corps and 65 in the Coast Guard. Ethnic figures are not available for the total number of Utahns in uniform but of the 39,403 who were drafted 31,622 (or ninety-six percent) were "white," 205 (six-tenths of a percent) were black. Not surprisingly, 880 of Japanese ancestry entered the service as Utahns, along with 103 American Indians, 51 Chinese, 23 Filipino and 48 others. Thirteen percent of Utah servicemen during World War Two were married and had children.³² The least pleasant statistic to report is the number of Utah dead, 1,450 killed in action and another 3,660 dead from other causes, and the number wounded, some 4,264. The total number dead amounted to a little less than one percent of Utah's 1945 population.

³²Figures compiled from Selective Service and Victory, 589-624.

For the more than twenty percent of Utah's population who participated directly in the war, either as soldiers or as defense workers, the end of the great conflict marked a new beginning. The trickle of G.I.s coming home that started in October, 1945 became a flood by December of that year. Three-quarters of Utah's war workers moved on to newly created private industry jobs or left the state. Even so, the "hard and bitter peace" already being felt in Europe guaranteed defense work in Utah. The numbers would swell again during the Korean war. In time, the state's economy would become as dependent upon military spending as it once was on subsistence agriculture.

A major historian of the West has likened the effects of the Second World War to those of the mining and railroad booms of the last century, bringing "large numbers of footloose people to the West." Moreover, the "dislocations of the war strengthened the rootlessness already stimulated by the Great Depression" and restored the frontier notion that prosperity was just over the next rise, a little to the west.³³ This was perhaps less true in Utah than in other Western states, but it was true enough. Less true because the notion of Zion still persisted, but true enough because the war had given a great boost to the modern idea of personal efficacy. Religion and love of homeland were not

³³Nash, The American West Transformed, 57.

cast aside but, rather, were crowded by new values brought forth during the war. How Utah veterans would begin their new lives, and how the Utah establishment and economy greeted them is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

"LET THE BOYS THROUGH!": UTAH'S
RESPONSE TO RETURNING VETERANS

1

In February, 1946 Dr. Ray Olpin, recently appointed president of the University of Utah, met with General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then Army Chief of Staff, in the Hotel Utah. With Eisenhower were several other army "brass" including Major-General William E. Shedd, head of the Ninth Service Command at Fort Douglas, just east of the University. Olpin described to General Eisenhower the overcrowded conditions at the school brought on by the return of thousands of Utah's servicemen and women from World War Two. Olpin and other university officials had been eyeing the fort's spacious facilities, most of which had been unused since the end of the war. Only a flimsy barbed-wire fence separated the university from the army post. President Olpin had come to the Hotel Utah to see Eisenhower in hopes of gaining permission to use some of those facilities. After listening attentively to Olpin's plea, Eisenhower turned to General Shedd and said, "Cut a hole in the fence and let the boys through." Shedd objected, saying that federal law prohibited civilian use of army property. Eisenhower told him that the law would be changed as soon as he got to Washington and that nothing was too good for the boys with

whom he had fought a war.¹

Eisenhower reflected the general sentiment of most Americans. Their sons had fought on the front lines, their daughters had served in rear echelons. A proud and ebullient nation gave the returning servicemen and women a warm and rousing welcome. Utah's welcome was as warm as any. Frequently, echoes of Latter-day Saint communal solidarity could be seen at railroad stations in Ogden and Salt Lake City as entire wards (congregations) greeted members who had gone to war. Ward dinners and dances in honor of ex-G.I.s were common in the first year after VJ Day.² One Utah community, Springville, had given thought to the situation of returning veterans at least a year before any came home. The local chapter of the Jaycee's set-up a postwar planning committee in the Spring of 1944. The committee's primary assignment was to survey the six hundred or so servicemen and women from Springville, asking about their plans after being discharged. Survey forms were sent out in early June.³ Response was quick in coming. Though more than seventy percent of those in the service indicated they had no definite plans, most had given more

¹Elinore H. Partridge, "A. Ray Olpin and the Post-war Emergency at the University of Utah," UHQ 48 (1980): 194-95.

²Paul R. Larimer, interview with author, Anaheim, California, 6 October 1987; Robert Mortensen, interview with author, Concord, California, 27 June 1988.

³W. Verl Whiting, interview with author, Springville, Utah, 21 July 1988.

than passing thought to the future. Eighteen percent of them had gotten married in the service and, therefore, had to give more than passing thought to their postwar lives. Of all Springville servicemen and women ninety-two percent planned to return to the town after the war. Fifty-seven percent said they wanted to return to school. Only thirty-eight percent indicated they wanted to resume old jobs. The same percentage wanted to start businesses of their own. Eighteen percent said they assumed they could take-up their pre-service jobs. Ninety-one percent believed that their experience in the armed forces would be an advantage in the postwar world. These survey results were published in the Springville Herald in the early Fall of 1944.⁴ The local Jaycee chapter won a national award for the creativeness of the service project. It is unclear whether or not the information proved useful to local businessmen or civic leaders. No other Utah community made a similar effort to plan for the return of their members in the armed forces.

Though the Springville Jaycee project was fairly exceptional, next to winning the war the obsession of the entire nation was what to do once victory was wrestled from the grasp of the enemy. By 1943 few wondered whether or not the Allies would be victorious. Those not involved directly

⁴Springville Jaycee Post War Planning Committee questionnaire, EDTP, Box 87, P-4; Springville Herald 25 May 1944; *ibid.* 13 July 1944; *ibid.* 24 August 1944; *ibid.* 28 September 1944; *ibid.* 9 November 1944.

in the war effort turned their attention toward planning postwar America. Newspapers and magazines devoted considerable space to the topic. Defeating the fascist enemy, once again making the world safe for democracy, creating, in a sense, a new world out of the evil and corruption of the old placed a stamp of almost unbridled confidence on the United States, so recently come of age in an ancient world. Dozens of organizations sprang-up to study postwar possibilities and problems, and promote specific programs and solutions.

As early as August, 1942 Utah governor Herbert Maw appointed a cooperative planning commission to study postwar problems, headed by Ora Bundy of the state's Department of Publicity and Industrial Development. The purpose of the planning commission was to help avoid the "heartaches, hunger and misery that followed the first World War" and to prepare Utah to "get the dirt flying" as soon as the present war was over.⁵ But postwar planning in Utah could not rely simply upon prewar experience or statistical data. Whole new segments had been introduced into the economy.⁶ During the war Utah found itself transformed into a minor industrial state with strategic value. In 1942 the National

⁵Herbert B. Maw, cover letter to "After Victory Plans for the Wasatch Front: Report of the Cooperative Planning Program," Utah State Department of Publicity and Industrial Development, Salt Lake City, June, 1943, U-SA, SE-17, 4.5.

⁶J.R. Mahoney, "Wartime Economic Changes and Post-war Industrial Readjustment in Utah," Utah Economic and Business Review, June 1943, 2.

Resources Planning Board (NRPB) had declared Utah one of five critical sections of the entire United States due to the large number of defense related plants and installations built during the war, along with the rapid increase in population brought about by that defense activity.⁷ As a result, the Bundy commission received assistance from the NRPB and other federal agencies in compiling their reports on postwar planning.

What was to be the first and only such report was released in June, 1943. The title, "After Victory Plans for Utah and the Wasatch Front," was somewhat misleading since the report dealt mostly with the five Wasatch Front counties most affected by war related growth and development. The planning commission divided the report into seven major sections: mining and manufacturing, agriculture, water and power development, transportation, recreation and rehabilitation, public works, and city and county planning. Experts from the University of Utah, Utah State Agricultural College, and state and federal agencies contributed to the various parts of the report. For the most part, the recommendations made had little to do with putting Utah on a peacetime footing after the war. In general, they were pie-in-the-sky pet themes of the contributors. The irrigation experts suggested a consolidation and rationalization of Utah's fragmented irrigation companies, and an enlargement

⁷Ora Bundy to Elbert D. Thomas, 11 March 1943, EDTP, Box 62, P-4.

of the number of acres irrigated in the state.

Transportation experts argued that public agencies, private bus and rail companies should unite to "bring order into the present chaotic conditions" in the study area. Range scientists went so far as to suggest that only purebred bulls and rams be used, with not more than one per thirty cows or one per sixty ewes. Other contributors made similar kinds of suggestions, most addressed to what "should be done" after the war rather than what needed to be done to prepare for the economic and demographic shock of war's end.⁸ Perhaps most important to this chapter's theme is that higher education, of former G.I.s or anyone else, received only one, insubstantial sentence of comment in the report:

The schools and colleges should be enabled to provide men and women so equipped that they may readily become skilled workers or may assume business, professional or technological duties of responsibility and trust.

Disappointing as the planning effort proved to be in terms of real preparation for the end of the war, the report does illustrate the spirit of modernization which had seized the state. It was nothing short of a call for a near complete overhaul of Utah's economy and infrastructure. Scientists, engineers, and public bureaucrats saw the war as an

⁸Cooperative Postwar Planning Program, "After Victory Plans for the Wasatch Front: Report of the Cooperative Planning Program," Utah State Department of Publicity and Industrial Development, Salt Lake City, June, 1943, U-SA, SE-17, 4.5.

opportunity to remake Utah in a new modern image.

In spite of the Bundy report and Governor Maw's prodding, Utah's legislature did not take postwar planning seriously until the 1945-46 biennium session. During the 1943-44 session (the 25th Legislature) senate bills calling for the establishment of a postwar "readjustment" committee in the state Senate, and for a veteran's readjustment council within the state executive branch died in committee.⁹ The state House of Representatives did not address the issue at all during that session.¹⁰ Inasmuch as the United States had been involved in the war for only a little over a year by the time the 25th Legislature convened the lack of concern with what to do afterwards is not surprising. However, by the time the legislature met in January, 1945 the war picture had changed considerably. A long string of Allied victories in the Pacific and in Europe brought the war down to its last few months. Maw's address to the legislature on January 10th, 1945 was explicit. Everything must be done to assist veterans as they return from the "blood-soaked" fields of battle. The federal government would rehabilitate the wounded, grant bonuses, and provide educational opportunities. Utah's responsibility would be to "extend the welcoming hand of

⁹S.B. 198 and 206, 25th Legislature, 1st session, U-SA, SL-O, 25.14; Senate Journal, 25th Legislature, 1st Session, 690-91.

¹⁰Senate Journal, 25th Legislature, 1st session, listing of House of Representative Bills, 695-99.

fellowship" and to see that there was employment "that will satisfy their needs and desires." Maw went on to focus his argument closer to home:

If at this time we do not go all out to enable [the veterans], when they come back, to earn an adequate living near their home communities, but instead force them, after the war, to leave the localities and environments they are now fighting for, in order to get work, we will not . . . have carried out our full responsibility toward them.¹¹

Maw went on to detail his veteran's program. His first proposal would have established "veteran service centers" to act as a kind of clearing house for returning G.I.s. The centers would advise veterans of the various benefits and programs available under state and federal law, cooperate with existing employment agencies to find work for the them, and act as a general service, "providing [veterans] with whatever guidance, assistance, or counsel is necessary for their readjustment to civilian life." A representative of the center would call on each returned G.I., welcome him home and advise him of the services available.¹²

The governor's second proposal was more radical. He argued that industrial employment opportunities were what veterans would need most. In the smaller cities in the state the greatest hindrance to industrial development was the lack of plant facilities. Outside firms would be

¹¹Governor's Message to the Legislature, 10 January 1945, Senate Journal, 25th Legislature, 1st session, 30-31.

¹²Ibid., 31.

willing to locate in outlying areas if such facilities were made available for rent. Construction of such facilities financed by state authorized bonds would create an industrial boom in many Utah communities. To support this assertion Maw cited a similar program established in Mississippi in 1936. The purpose of the Mississippi plan was to provide small-scale industrial employment in rural areas, and to "balance agriculture with industry" as a permanent rural development program. Under the plan local communities provided industrial plant facilities at public expense in areas where surplus labor was available. Within seven years twelve manufacturing firms established branch operations in leased public facilities, employing several thousand workers. The "investment" of "a little money" had given employment security to thousands. Utah had had similar experience between 1942 and 1944 in leasing space in the Manti Armory to a parachute manufacturing firm. In response to the wartime emergency, the state enlarged the armory building to make space for the parachute operations.

At the height of its operations the Manti firm employed nearly five hundred people from the nearby area. After military demand for parachutes disappeared, the plant was turned over to a clothing manufacturing company on a five-year lease. Maw argued that peacetime industrial jobs were already being had in central Utah due to state investment in industrial facilities. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were being pumped into the Manti economy from outside the

state. Employees of the clothing company had "been given security in their own homes."¹³ Governor Maw called upon the legislature to authorize the Department of Publicity and Industrial Development to "assume leadership" in setting up his "BAWI" (Balancing Agriculture With Industry) program. He asserted that without question

[w]hat has been done for Sanpete County and in Mississippi can be done in nearly every section of Utah. Dehydration or meat-packing plants for the Uintah Basin, grape juice or other agricultural processing plants for Dixie, wool-cleaning plants for Southeastern Utah . . . can easily become realities at far less public expense than will otherwise be paid for public relief in those sections, if this legislature will authorize action. In what way could this body better serve returning veterans?¹⁴

Maw also called for increased funding for the department to enable it to assist in the conversion of Utah's wartime industries to peacetime production, including the Geneva Steel plant.

The governor's call for a concerted postwar planning and development effort was largely ignored. Nevertheless, both the senate and the house of representatives established ad hoc postwar planning committees which introduced a number of postwar and veterans related bills. Senate Bill (S.B.) 66 and House Bill (H.B.) 51 proposed authorizing Utah lending institutions to participate in the housing and business loan programs established by the federal

¹³Ibid., 33.

¹⁴Ibid.

Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 ("G.I. Bill of Rights"). The Senate version of the bill was dropped after unanimous approval in favor of the House version and was signed by Governor Maw March 7th, 1945.¹⁵

The other postwar and veteran's bills offered during that session did not fare as well. S.B. 164 proposed exempting military pay from state income tax liability in order to "assist in the readjustment of returning servicemen." The bill unanimously passed the Senate but was killed by the House Sifting Committee. S.B.s 167 and 171 would have empowered the state Department of Publicity and Industrial Development as well as city and county governments to begin the BAWI program championed by Governor Maw. S.B.s 165, 166, 168, 169, and 170 would have established a special construction fund and provided a tax base for the industrial development program from property levies and road and fuel use taxes. All of these BAWI related bills were stalled in various Senate committee and failed to pass. The last of the postwar veteran's bills to be considered during the 1945-46 biennium, S.B. 205, would have established the veteran service centers called for by

¹⁵Utah State House of Representatives Bill (hereafter cited as H.B.) 51 and S.B. 66, 26th Legislature, 1st Session, U-SA, SL-O, 26.14; Senate Journal, 26th Legislature, 1st Session, 951-52.

the governor. It too failed to get out of committee.¹⁶

The failure of Utah's legislature to act favorably on Maw's bold proposals did not necessarily signify a lack of interest in postwar problems or with the problems facing returning veterans. No doubt legislators worried about the financing of the proposed development programs, and about the tax burden they would present to Utah residents. More fundamentally, though, the rejection of Maw's proposals reflected a growing conservative dissatisfaction with the governor's liberal New Deal approach. This conservative shift would color the governor's entire second term (1945-1949), and would be partially responsible for his defeat by J. Bracken Lee in 1948.¹⁷

By the beginning of the 1947-48 biennium Maw had retreated considerably from his industrial development proposals of two years earlier. The 1946 state elections gave a solid majority in the House of Representatives to the Republican party. The Senate remained marginally in the control of the Democrats. The governor set the tone for his opening message to the legislature by conceding that state programs and services had grown faster than taxpayer's ability to fund them. Everything must be done to improve

¹⁶S.B. 164 through 171, S.B. 205, 26th Legislature, 1st Session, U-SA, SL-O, 26.14; Senate Journal, 26th Legislature, 1st Session, 951-53.

¹⁷Gerald E. Hansen, "The Conservative Movement in Utah After World War Two," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1962), 49.

the earning power of Utahns, especially veterans of World War Two. The legislature should still encourage industrial development, but it should do so by reducing tax and regulatory burdens on Utah businesses, making the state as attractive as possible to outside firms. The state should encourage tourism in counties not benefiting directly from industrial growth.¹⁸

Though weakened politically by the recent election results, Maw continued his plea for activism in providing economic security for Utah citizens. He warned that Utahns searching for opportunity could already be found "among the leadership of business, government, financial and other enterprises throughout the nation." Others wanting similar opportunities would not wait patiently forever. With such outstanding people

[Utahns] should be able to easily establish [them]selves on a sound industrial foundation at home, for the descendants of the pioneers who settled our state have as their heritage courage, industry, vision, and integrity. No state can boast of a more outstanding citizenry. Let this legislature open the way for an all round expansion of their possibilities and no obstacle will be too great to block attainment of economic security within our borders.¹⁹

Maw followed this patriotic plea with a call, the first by a Utah governor, for "fair employment practices and equal civil rights for all classes of citizens regardless of race,

¹⁸Senate Journal, 27th Legislature, 1st Session, 29-31 and 35-37.

¹⁹Ibid., 50-51.

creed, or color. . . ."20

The legislature's response to the governor's proposals was little better than it had been in 1945. Maw's ambiguous call for legislative encouragement of industrial development was largely ignored. Of the 252 bills proposed in the Senate and 280 in the House, only a handful dealt directly with the governor's program.²¹ However, the legislature did pass a few bills for the assistance of Utah veterans. S.B. 78 established a state Department of Veterans' Affairs generally along the line of Maw's proposal for veteran service centers in 1945. H.B. 18 provided a property tax exemption to Utah veterans with some degree of VA certified disability, the percentage of which was to vary according to the VA's determination of disability. S.B. 72 required that honorably discharged veterans or their widows "shall be preferred for appointment or employment" in state or local agencies.²²

In retrospect, the Utah legislature's weak response in both planning and making actual provisions for World War Two veterans is not surprising. The state's resources were limited, and the cutback of defense spending at the end of the war threatened to limit still further Utah's abilities.

²⁰Ibid., 51.

²¹S.B. 12, 64, 230 and H.B. 259, 27th Legislature, 1st Session, U-SA, SL-O, 27.14.

²²S.B. 72 and 78, and H.B. 18, 27th Legislature, 1st Session, U-SA, SL-O, 27.14.

Moreover, though modernization, and the industrial build-up of the war years, had moved the state into a new era, many of the traditional concerns about the role of government in state life reasserted themselves after the twin crises of economic depression and world war ceased to threaten. By the 1948 elections, the New Deal was a dead letter in Utah.

2

The real key to the future of Utah veterans was not provided by the state legislature, it came from Washington, D.C.. Though Utah's legislature did little for the returning veterans, two Utah natives, Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D-Utah) and General Frank T. Hines, longtime Administrator of the Veterans Administration, were instrumental in the drafting and passage of Franklin Roosevelt's last New Deal program: the G.I. Bill of Rights.

The first of the postwar pieces of G.I. legislation was contained in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Section 8 of that act, authored and championed by Elbert Thomas, guaranteed that those drafted into the service would be able to return to jobs held before going into the military. The section required that government and private employers reinstate veterans after release from active duty. Under the terms of the law the ex-G.I. had to apply for his old position within forty days of being separated from the service. If rehired, he could not be terminated for one year except for cause. The new law also established a

personnel bureau within the Selective Service Administration. Disputes between veterans and former employers would be settled by this bureau, or turned-over to the U.S. district attorney for settlement in federal court. The law gave priority to reemployment cases on court calendars.²³

Many conservative senators balked at this intrusion into the affairs of private enterprise. Many doubted the constitutionality of the requirements of Section 8 of the proposed law. In senate debate, Thomas claimed that Congress had power to compel private employers concerning reemployment of veterans under the authority of Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution: "Congress shall have power . . . To raise and support armies . . . [and] To provide and maintain a navy . . . [and] To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying out the foregoing powers. . . ." Thomas argued that Congress must assure those drafted that their civilian jobs would not be lost due to conscription. Failure to do so would seriously impair the morale of the men in the army and navy, and would, therefore, weaken Congress's ability to "support" and "maintain" the armed forces.²⁴ The Utah senator's arguments were persuasive enough that both houses passed

²³U.S. Public Law 783, 76th Cong., 1st Session, 16 September 1940; Elbert D. Thomas to General Omar N. Bradley, EDTP, Box 164, VA-12a.

²⁴U.S. Congressional Record, 76th Cong., 3d Session, 10572-75 (20 August 1940).

section 8 without much further trouble.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Congress and the nation turned its attention to the conduct of the war. By the second half of 1943, however, planning for the postwar situation of ex-G.I.s began to gain the attention of both the public and lawmakers. Even President Roosevelt paused from the daily business of managing the war effort to give thought to planning for veterans' needs. His address to congress on October 27th, 1943 proposed that all veterans be granted a year's worth of educational aid. Those particularly talented or skilled would be subsidized for up to three years. Roosevelt's homiletics were as powerful as ever: educational benefits for former G.I.s would create a generation of "enlightened leadership" in all segments of American society, as well as soften the impact of postwar unemployment. More to the point, the nation had a "moral obligation" to provide for its veterans.²⁵ A month later, the president continued his plea for veteran aid. He complimented congress on what they had already done for those returning from the war. Due to their foresight and good statesmanship veterans currently could count on hospitalization and medical care for war related problems, government life insurance, guarantees on private life insurance premiums, vocational rehabilitation for veterans

²⁵"Message to the Congress on Education of War Veterans," 27 October 1943, in Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 13 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938-1950), 12:449-55.

with some degree of disability, pension rights, suspension of civilian-incurred civil obligations for servicemen, and reemployment rights.²⁶ To this list the president wanted to add mustering-out pay, a system of unemployment benefits, and social security credit for wartime service. Together with his proposal for education benefits made in October, these last requests were to "give notice to our armed forces that the people back home do not propose to let them down."²⁷

In part, Roosevelt's veterans proposals were an attempt to bolster flagging support within Congress for the economic planning thrust of the New Deal. Moreover, the president was anxious that Congress not be allowed to co-opt planning initiatives. Friend and close advisor Harry Hopkins warned Roosevelt that "unless something is done soon on the legislation of returning soldiers, the opposition may steal the thunder."²⁸

As a stalwart New Dealer, and as chairman of the Senate

²⁶Enacted by (respectively) U.S. Public Law (hereafter cited as P.L.) 10, 78th Cong., 17 March 1943; P.L. 360, 77th Cong., 19 December 1941; Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act, P.L. 861, 76th Cong., 17 October 1940; P.L. 16, 78th Cong., 24 March 1943; P.L. 359, 77th Cong., 19 December 1941; P.L. 861, 76th Cong., 17 October 1940; Selective Service and Training Act, P.L. 783, 76th Cong., 16 September 1940.

²⁷"A Message to the Congress on Providing for the Return of Service Personnel to Civilian Life," in Rosenman, Roosevelt Public Papers, 12:522-27.

²⁸Keith W. Olson, The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1974), 12-13.

Committee on Education and Labor, Elbert Thomas introduced the administration's proposal as Senate Bill 1509 on November 3rd. The bill incorporated specific administration proposals for education benefits developed by the National Resource Planning Board before it was abolished by Congress in 1942. Senate leadership referred Thomas's bill to his committee for consideration, and he in turn formed a special sub-committee with himself as chairman. On the 13th, 14th and 15th of December, 1943 Thomas held hearings on the bill. Testimony before his committee highlighted two major criticisms of the administration's proposal. The first was raised by liberal members, such as Claude Pepper of Florida, who objected to proposed limitations on the number of veterans eligible for full education benefits, as well as the proposed state quota system. The second major criticism concerned agency jurisdiction over the veteran education program, with opinion split between those favoring the U.S. Office of Education control and those arguing for Veterans Administration oversight. The Federal Security Agency (parent bureau to the U.S. Office of Education) further complicated matters when it publicly expressed opposition to the bill in its present form in early January, 1944.²⁹

In the confusion created by internecine battles within

²⁹U.S. Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, 78th Cong., 1st Session. Hearings on S.1295 and S.1509, 13 December 1943 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), passim; Davis R.B. Ross, Preparing for Ulysses: Politics and Veterans During World War II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 94-97.

the administration, initiatives for bold action fell to others. Into the vacuum stepped the American Legion. Their proposal was remarkably logical. The individual bills presently under consideration (education, social security credit, and mustering-out pay), along with others in the proposal stage, should be combined into an omnibus bill that would provide the "statutory basis for the readjustment of the veterans of the present world war."³⁰ The Legion's bill contained six titles dealing with (respectively) apprising veterans of their rights under the law, mustering-out pay, education benefits, loans to veterans for home and farm, centralizing all veteran functions under the VA, and unemployment allowances. With few modifications, most contained in previous administration proposals as first introduced, Titles I, II and III were generally well accepted. Title III embodied the Thomas bill with no changes. Titles IV, V and VI, however, met with some opposition within congress. Anti- New Deal conservatives, though mollified by the necessity for wartime unity, began to stir. Home and farm loans and unemployment allowances were seen as yet another extension of the role of government. Consolidating veteran functions within one agency was another step in Roosevelt's centralization of the powers of government. In this regard, critics overestimated

³⁰David Camelon, "I Saw the GI Bill Written," The American Legion Magazine 47 (1949): 54-76, as quoted in Ross, Preparing for Ulysses, 98.

the president's control over his own administration. Some of the loudest opposition to Title V came from within the executive branch, notably the USOE and the U.S. Employment Service. Criticism also came, unexpectedly, from other veterans organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled Veterans of America. These groups worried that the broad extension of benefits would "submerg[e] . . . activities on behalf of the disabled veterans" under a flood of programs for able-bodied ones.³¹

But critics had to speak softly. By drafting a monolithic omnibus proposal, the American Legion had put opponents in a difficult position. Any major criticism of any part of the bill would be perceived by the public as a critique of the whole, and therefore an attack on the idea of veterans' benefits itself. The Legion began its publicity campaign for the bill on January 8th, 1944. It would serve as a "bill of rights for G.I. Joe and G.I. Jane." Within a few days, Legion publicist Jack Cejnar shortened the name to simply the "G.I. Bill of Rights." Longtime Legion supporter J. Bennett Clark (D-Mo.) formally introduced the bill in the Senate. Representative John E. Rankin (D-Miss.) did the same in the House.³² Hearings on

³¹U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on Veterans' Legislation, 78th Cong., 2d Session, Hearings on Veterans' Omnibus Bill, 14 January 1944 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944), 205; Ross, Preparing for Ulysses, 102-05.

³²S.1617 and H.3817, 78th Cong., 2d Session, 11 January 1944; Ross, Preparing for Ulysses, 99-100.

the bills began the following day.

Minor changes to the Legion's bill were made in committee. Elbert Thomas' original proposal for education benefits was substituted for the Legion's version. All veterans discharged under all but dishonorable conditions, with at least six months of time in the service, were made eligible for educational support. The Legion's bill had provided for aid only for those who had had their education interrupted by the war. The bill passed onto the House of Representatives where it faced considerable opposition headed by the conservative John E. Rankin.

Rankin had been one of the original sponsors of the house version of the bill. He came to oppose the various amendments made in the senate version. In particular, he was suspicious of the education title. He wanted nothing to do with an educational scheme which was aimed at further eroding state's rights in the control of education. Moreover, Rankin saw the bill as a plot to "channel the nation's heroes into colleges and there subject them to the tainted theories of sociologists." The result, he claimed, would be a continuation of the trend toward an "overeducated and undertrained" population.³³ After much political wrangling and arm twisting the house version of the G.I. Bill was reconciled with the senate's and passed both houses June 12th, 1944 with the education entitlements largely

³³Ross, Preparing for Ulysses, 108.

intact. The provision for veteran college education was one of the most important factors in the migration of Utah veterans after the war.

3

During his meeting with General Eisenhower, University of Utah president Olpin had not exaggerated the crowded conditions at the university. The trickle of returning veterans that began in June of 1945 became a flood by December of that year. By the first of January, 1946 more than half of Utah's 62,107 servicemen and women were discharged and sent home.³⁴ If the Springville survey can be used as a rough indicator for the entire state, more than half of those coming home would want to return to some kind of schooling. The potential for an educational explosion was great, though largely unanticipated throughout the country. At the University of Utah the explosion began quietly enough. The university registrar expected about five thousand students to register for the Winter quarter beginning on the 10th of December. Of these, he estimated that one thousand would be war veterans.³⁵ Actual enrollment turned out to be 5,304--1,500 of which were ex-servicemen and women. This was only about seven hundred more students than the highest prewar year of 1940-41.

³⁴Selective Service, Selective Service and Victory, 624.

³⁵Salt Lake Tribune 6 December 1945.

Absorbing them into existing university programs would not be too difficult.³⁶

However, as large numbers of recently discharged veterans began to organize their postwar lives the enrollment situation began to look alarming. By February, 1946 the registrar anticipated a Spring quarter enrollment of as many as seven thousand students. More alarming still was that several hundred of those intending to register were from out of state. The university had received a large number of inquiries concerning its admission policies from hopeful students in the East. The principal of one large high school in Trenton, New Jersey wrote Utah officials asking how many of his students could enroll in the Fall of 1946. Many Eastern universities were curtailing enrollment as they, too, were faced with the flood of returning veterans. For example, the University of Pennsylvania went so far as to notify Pennsylvania high schools that current graduates could not be accommodated in the coming fall. In response to this situation the University of Utah Board of Regents stiffened entrance requirements for new high school graduates. Requirements for out-of-state applicants were to be even tougher. However, unlike the decision made in Pennsylvania the Board rejected the idea of establishing an enrollment ceiling. Enrollments would have to be curtailed through entrance requirements rather than by arbitrary

³⁶Salt Lake Tribune 11 February 1946.

admission limits. At the same time, the board made special provision for ex-G.I.s by allowing those who entered the service without completing high school to earn matriculation by completing certain remedial courses.³⁷

By May of 1946 President Olpin called for "swift action" on the part of the legislature to prevent a "disaster in education." Fall 1946 registration was expected to be near 7,500. Olpin reported to the Board of Regents that facilities needed to be doubled to handle the flood of new students. Extremely heavy teaching loads had to be reduced to prevent inferior instruction. More lobbying had to be done to secure Ft. Douglas facilities in order to relieve extreme crowding in classroom, laboratory and living areas. And, for the first time in the university's history, the president asked the board to appoint a vice president to allow Olpin "more time to work on problems of an emergency nature."³⁸ Olpin's call for additional funding from the legislature went unheeded. Discretionary funds under the control of the Utah State Board of Examiners³⁹ were likewise denied. In a letter to the Board of Regents, Governor Maw told the university that it had to live with the appropriation made for the current biennium (which began in the Winter of 1945), and with the

³⁷UUBR, 21 February 1946.

³⁸UUBR, 10 May 1946.

³⁹Made up of the governor, the attorney-general and the state treasurer.

additional revenue of tuition from increased enrollment. The 1945-46 appropriation was based upon enrollment levels of the previous year and did not anticipate the flood of new students.⁴⁰

The enrollment explosion was also a problem at Utah's other colleges and universities. Enrollment at the Utah State Agricultural College (USAC) in Logan for the Fall term of 1946 was 4,150--about one hundred fifty percent over the 1940 figure--sixty percent of whom were veterans of World War Two.⁴¹ By the Fall of 1946 housing problems at USAC became acute. Unlike the Salt Lake Valley and other areas of the state virtually no new housing was constructed in Logan or the surrounding Cache Valley during the war, yet permanent population rose nearly thirteen percent between 1940 and 1946. The housing needs of the first wave of returning veterans in the Fall of 1945 were met by the transfer of badly worn surplus trailers to the college. These already inadequate trailers were quickly filled. By the Winter term many veterans and their families were living in temporary arrangements in the campus fieldhouse, in Protestant, Catholic, and Latter-day Saint church buildings, and in an abandoned high school building. Some took up residence in vacated buildings at Bushnell Army Hospital in

⁴⁰Maw to Board of Regents, 9 May 1946, UUBR, SE-32, 1.1.

⁴¹Salt Lake Tribune 22 December 1946; Daryl Chase to Maj. Gen. T.B. Larkin, 4 November 1946, EDTP, Box 168, UT-4.

Brigham City, requiring a fifty-two mile daily commute. Several hundred veterans were separated from wives and children who lived with parents and grandparents elsewhere because of the acute shortage of housing.⁴²

College officials began pressing the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) and the Army for relief from the shortage. A great deal of help had already been forthcoming. During the summer of 1946 the FPHA had transported several dozen temporary "war houses," to the Logan campus under the provisions of Title V. of the Lanham Act (U.S. Public Law 849). The college had itself paid to ship fifty quonset huts obtained from the Navy, one hundred two "tropical huts" from the Army, and thirteen prisoner-of-war barracks. Conversion of the empty structures into family apartments was accomplished largely with veteran labor and donated materials. Though this may seem to have been a great relief to college officials, in reality the new housing units were a source of great frustration. They were completely unfurnished and without even the most basic heating and cooking appliances.⁴³

Acquiring the needed appliances and furniture became a six-month ordeal in bureaucratic run-around involving the staff of the Agricultural College, Governor Herbert Maw, the entire Utah delegation to congress, the Federal Housing

⁴²Chase to Larkin, 4 November 1946, EDTP, Box 168, UT-4.

⁴³Ibid.

Authority and the Army Quartermaster Corps. In a letter to Major General T.B. Larkin, Quartermaster-General of the Army, Daryl Chase, Dean of Students at the college, made an impassioned plea for help "in the name of 2300 Sons of the Army--veterans who have served their country well." Chase explained the severe housing shortage and the efforts already made for its relief. Enclosed with the letter was a long list of needed items, 304 of each: small cooking ranges, hot water tanks, wash basins, showers, beds, mattresses, springs, tables, chairs, dressers and, yes, kitchen sinks. Chase admitted the list was long but restated that the needs were great. He closed the letter by quoting from an Army recruiting pamphlet which boasted that "No problem [is] too great, too small or too much trouble" for the Army to solve. Before he sent the letter to Larkin, the dean had it endorsed by the two officers posted to the ROTC program at the college and by the campus Veterans Administration representative.⁴⁴ The quote from the pamphlet and the endorsements may have gone a few steps too far. Larkin's quick reply was polite but terse. The Army could spare no furniture or fixtures. He suggested the college contact the War Assets Administration for assistance with their needs.⁴⁵ At this point U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas attempted to intervene on behalf of the college by

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Larkin to Chase, 15 November 1946, EDTP, Box 168, UT-4.

writing directly to General Eisenhower, the Army Chief of Staff. That attempt failed as well.⁴⁶ Eventually, from various sources, the college was able to equip and furnish the housing units by the beginning of the spring quarter, 1947.

In opposition to the claim that universal educational opportunities for veterans would be disastrous for both the veteran and the schools, comment on the scholastic quality of ex-G.I.s at Utah's colleges and universities was unanimous. Most veterans were outstanding students. Even those who were married with children maintained grades as high as any. In a study of its own postwar student experience Brigham Young University classified students according to war service--married veterans, unmarried veterans, married nonveterans and unmarried nonveterans. The university found that the highest grades for the 1946-47 school year were achieved by the married veterans, followed closely by nonmarried veterans. Of the four groups the lowest grade point averages were earned by the male, unmarried nonveterans. Weber State College found a similar correlation between war service, marital status and academic achievement.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Col. Noah Brinson, office of the Chief of Staff to Thomas, 3 December 1946, EDTP, Box 168, UT-4.

⁴⁷Franklin Stewart Harris to Elbert D. Thomas, 18 November 1947, EDTP, Box 168, UT-1; Deseret News 28 February 1947.

The crush of ex-G.I. students at Utah colleges and universities may have placed a strain on the state's educational resources but it offered in return a new atmosphere of excitement, bustle, and overflowing activity. For the most part veterans took the crowded conditions at Utah's schools in stride because of the feeling that opportunities were bursting at the seams. In the community at large much the same thing was going on. There was a new spirit of possibilities in the air. Incomprehensible as it may seem today, many saw the success of the atomic bomb at ending the war with Japan as evidence that American science and technology, coupled with other, more traditional American virtues, presented almost unlimited possibilities to the imagination.

But Utah's economy still had real limits. Not all of the veterans who returned to Utah after the war and took advantage of their educational rights under the G.I. Bill could find a place equal to their new sense of personal and family efficacy. Many left for "greener pastures." The next chapter will discuss the challenges that some of these faced upon their return and why, in the end, they decided to leave "Zion."

CHAPTER IV

"A FIG OFF MY OWN FIG TREE": VETERANS,
POSTWAR UTAH, AND MIGRATION

1

So far in this study we have been dealing with the habit and meaning of Utah and Mormon migration, the upheavals of world war and the initial attempts to provide opportunities for returning veterans. In this chapter we turn to the experiences of some of the veterans themselves. To do this we will focus on four Utah veterans--Lloyd Parry, Ralph Baird, Lars Anderson, and Durland Carney; three teachers and an engineer--their experiences in postwar Utah, and in a single Latter-day Saint ward in Concord, California where they settled after leaving their homeland. What follows, then, is what Bernard DeVoto called "history by synecdoche," the use of a few representative samples to stand for all.

Between 1952, when it was established, and 1955 the Concord Ward of the L.D.S. church grew from a small membership of just over three hundred to well over 1,500, requiring that it be split into two separate wards. Most of the newcomers had recently migrated from Utah. Most of the men were veterans of the Second World War, and had had some education or training beyond high school. In many ways their experiences were quite varied. Some had been farm boys, some came from small towns, others from Utah's cities.

Some were deeply religious, some less so. Some had been trained as professionals--doctors, dentists, engineers, and teachers. Teachers made up the largest number--by one estimate about three-quarters of the Concord newcomers. Some of the others were blue collar workers, graduates of Utah's trade and vocational schools. Each of the Utah veterans who went to California after the war were different in the myriad ways that make up the personalities and tastes of individuals.

In other ways, though, they had many things in common. Each had been torn from family and friends to be thrust into a long and bloody war. Each had had little or no direct experience with the world outside Utah before their wartime tours of duty. In this study, each was a Latter-day Saint, and each had strong traditional attachments to Zion, including the sense of isolated clannishness typical of premodern Mormons. Most importantly, each had returned to a victorious United States, newly elevated to Superpower, confident in the grand prospects the future held. A sense of personal efficacy loomed larger than old obligations to extended families, to homeland, and to religious traditions. Utah veterans had helped to throw the weight of fascism off the backs of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In the process, they lightened the burden of their own history for themselves and their children. The "good life" became their primary goal. Perhaps this is nowhere better illustrated than in the comment made by one of these veterans when asked if he

wanted to return to Utah upon retirement. "No," he said, "here [in California] I can pick a fig off my own fig tree anytime I want."¹ Many college educated veterans felt the same way. Between 1950 and 1960 some 18,000 Utahns with four or more years of college, about twenty-five percent of all Utah graduates, left the state to find opportunity elsewhere.²

2

The first sample veteran is Lloyd Parry. Born and raised in Manti, Utah, his family had experienced the mission migration common in the first generation of Mormon settlement. His great-grandfather, a master mason, had been sent on a mission to Saint George, Utah to supervise construction on the Mormon Temple. Later, he was called to Manti to build the temple there. The family settled in Manti and operated a building stone quarry just out of town, literally blasting and cutting their lives out of the rock of Utah's mountains. They had gone wherever they were needed and ended up as rooted in Utah soil as the sandstone they dug from the earth.³

¹Lloyd Parry, interview with author, 29 June 1988, Concord, California.

²Figures compiled from U.S. Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1963, and U.S. Office of Education. Biennial Survey of Education, 1951-1960.

³Unless otherwise cited, all material in this sketch of Mr. Parry's experience has been taken from an interview with the author, 29 June 1988 in Concord, California.

Lloyd Parry was born into this tradition in 1924. In 1941 and 1942 he attended Snow College in Ephraim, and worked for the family business. Later, he worked as a mason tender on the construction of the Manti Armory addition that was to house the Standard Parachute Company. The bricklayers on the armory job offered to take him with them to work on the Tooele Ordnance Depot at the then grand wage of \$1.25 per hour. As a vital war worker he was classified "II-B" by the Selective Service and protected from the draft. Nevertheless, he decided to return to school for the winter 1943 term. He was immediately reclassified "I-A." Induction was just a matter of time. He completed winter and spring terms and, not waiting to be called, joined the Army Air Corps in June 1943.

Mr. Parry had not travelled before the war except to California with the Boy Scouts. His experiences in the service were to open his eyes to the larger world outside of Utah. After basic training he was sent to India and was assigned to airlift operations dispatching planes "over the hump" to Chiang Kai-shek in China. Later he served in Calcutta in the Provost Marshall corps as an undercover investigator and liaison with Indian police authorities. Working closely with Indians expanded his cultural view of the world. Close contact with Chinese, Burmese, and British, with Hindu, Moslem and Buddhist, and with all kinds of characters from the saintly to the criminal, enlarged his vision. The Himalayas, not central Utah's Mount Nebo,

became the tallest peaks he had seen.

After VJ Day Lloyd returned to the United States on a "slow boat from China," stopping off in the Philippines and Australia. On the long trip home he gave considerable thought to what he wanted to do when he got home. His experience in the Provost Marshall Corps had given him contact with law and legal procedures. He thought he would like to become a lawyer. It was March 1946 before he arrived home in Utah. He was discharged immediately at Fort Douglas, just in time for the spring 1946 term at the University of Utah. Shortly thereafter, the bishop of his LDS ward asked him if he would like to go on a proselytizing mission for the church. For a time, Lloyd was unsure. He felt that since he had been serving his country he ought to serve his church. But to be torn again from home so soon after returning from overseas seemed too much. He put off the decision for five months, then concluded he would go. He left for the Eastern Canada Mission the last week of November 1946. During his time there he decided against law school, opting instead for a teaching career--something of a family tradition. His father had been a teacher, and Lloyd's brother and sister were both teachers. When he returned to Utah just before Christmas 1948 he enrolled immediately at the University of Utah, majoring in speech and English.

During his entire postwar education, he was assisted by the G.I. Bill, which he insists made it possible. He also

enrolled in the Air Force ROTC program which brought in another forty-five dollars a month to add to the G.I. bill money. He graduated from the Air Force program a reserve officer and served in that capacity until 1980 when he retired as a full colonel. In addition to G.I. Bill and ROTC income Lloyd took a part time job at the Salt Lake City ZCMI department store at eighty-five cents per hour. During summers he worked for his brother, a certified teacher, in his construction company. There was no money to be made teaching in Utah, Lloyd's brother told him. He would be better off in some other career.

Though Lloyd appreciated his brother's advice, he persisted in his career plans. In June, 1951 Lloyd married Yvonne Madsen, herself a recently graduated junior high school teacher. He still had one year left before finishing his degree. By that time Yvonne had already been teaching for two years in the Salt Lake City schools. After graduation in June 1952 Lloyd taught ninth grade English his first year. He and his wife planned to buy a small home in Salt Lake City, and intended to settle there permanently. But in order to afford the house purchase both Lloyd and Yvonne needed second jobs: he sold insurance and she worked as a waitress at a Salt Lake City restaurant. The principal of her school discovered this and objected that her nighttime job was beneath the dignity of a teacher. But Yvonne made more money as a waitress than she did as a teacher. If she had to give up one of the jobs, she told

the principal, it would be teaching. It was becoming clear to them both that Utah could not provide the standard of living they wanted. They began to explore alternatives.

The Parrys were not the only teachers in Utah unable to make do on low salaries. There was widespread agitation among teachers in the postwar years for pay raises. By 1948 Utah's teacher salaries were below the national average, as well as below the average for the eleven Western states. The defeat of Herbert Maw and the election of J. Bracken Lee to the governor's office in 1948 was, therefore, not met with enthusiasm among many Utah educators. Lee's campaign emphasized a single issue: taxes. He came to office promising to cut taxes and, therefore, state budgets. Education was to be no sacred cow:

The greatest emergency is high taxes. Anything else is very minor. I would rather have a son with only an elementary school education than a son with a college degree and no freedom.⁴

Hyperbole and overstatement were a few of the new governor's most prominent traits, but the equation between taxes and freedom was a note from the distant past no one expected.

Concern over high taxes was one thing, but it soon became clear that Lee, who himself had not graduated from high school, harbored a low opinion of all but the most basic education. He openly questioned the need to hire "high-priced" college graduates to teach in Utah's

⁴Deseret News, 3 July 1953, as quoted in Dennis L. Lythgoe, Let 'Em Holler: A Political Biography of J. Bracken Lee (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1982), 128-29.

elementary schools when a high school graduate could do the job just as well with a few months additional training. For this and other reasons Lee's biographer has concluded that the governor saw teachers as merely "hired help," and had "little respect for the teacher as a necessary, contributing member of society."⁵

By 1952 the Utah teacher pay issue had become big political news. Time Magazine ran a story claiming that Lee's "passion for economy" was seriously threatening the education of Utah's children. Time estimated that some four hundred out of a total of 5,730 teachers⁶ (approximately seven percent) had quit their jobs and left the state in exasperation since Lee came to office. Lee later claimed this figure was grossly exaggerated. But it may have been, in fact, a substantial underestimate. The 1952 president of the Box Elder chapter of the Utah Education Association has estimated the 1952 figure at over nine hundred. He joined their ranks himself in 1954.⁷

During the Easter vacation of 1953 Mr. Parry and his wife visited his sister in Concord, California, intending to spend some time exploring job prospects. Lloyd looked into

⁵Lithgoe, Let 'Em Holler, 136.

⁶Total instructional personnel figure from University of Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Review, Statistical Abstract of Utah's Economy, 1964 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 39.

⁷Ralph Baird, interview with author, 30 June 1988, Concord, California.

working for Shell Oil or Du Pont Chemical, both of which had refineries nearby. His sister suggested they look into teaching in the area. Both interviewed with Mount Diablo School District officials, but with no serious thoughts of pursuing positions there. They went back to Utah to finish the school year. Upon their return, they were able to buy a small house for \$4,000 with a mortgage, after borrowing \$500 for the down payment. They began to fix the place up. A month before the end of the school year they received a letter from Mount Diablo district superintendent James Dent offering them both jobs at substantially higher salary than they were getting in Salt Lake City. After some initial hesitation they decided to try the California job for a year.

As a boy Lloyd thought he would never want to leave Utah. He was attached to its people, its climate, and the opportunities for outdoor sports. Now with job offer in hand he felt ambivalent about leaving inasmuch as his education had cost the state of Utah a great deal and he would have to stay a number of years before he felt he had "paid them back." But on the other hand, he reasoned, no one in state government, including the governor, had indicated he and his wife would have a comfortable living wage in Utah. Lloyd received \$2,900 for the 1952-53 school year in Utah. The offer in California was for \$3,900. Promises for greater increases were part of their contracts. In the end, Lloyd felt his life's dreams and his wife and

children were more important than his devotion to Utah.

Shortly after the Parrys gave notice to their principals, the Utah Education Association arranged for them to be interviewed by radio station KSL in Salt Lake City about their reasons for leaving. When the issue caught the attention of national news, Douglas Edwards of CBS television interviewed Yvonne about their decision. She cited the fact that their offer in California represented an immediate thirty-five percent increase compared to their Utah salary. The governor had made his intentions known: there would be no pay increases for teachers while he was in office. For the Parry's, the choice was, therefore, clear. They would leave. So, after taking an audio-visual course required by the Mount Diablo district at the University of Utah that summer, they packed up their belongings, put their newly purchased home on the market, and headed West.

3

The second sample is Ralph Baird, born in Brigham City, Utah in 1914. In 1932 he completed a teaching certificate at the Utah State Agricultural College and immediately began teaching at the remote town of Kelton on the north end of the Great Salt Lake. For the next six summers Ralph worked on a bachelors degree at USAC. He completed his degree in 1939, the year he was married. After teaching a few years at Kelton and Tremonton, Mr. Baird was sent as a teaching principal to two other rural Box Elder towns: Bothwell in

1937, and Fielding in 1939. Such young principals were typical of Utah's rural schools before the war.⁸

After Pearl Harbor and American entry into the war, the Box Elder county draft board assured Ralph that since he was a school principal and father of two he wouldn't be drafted. Nevertheless, less than two years later he was classified "I-A," received greetings from the president, and went into the Navy in November of 1943. After basic training, he was sent to store keeper's school at the Great Lakes Naval Station where he graduated at the top of his class. After a thirty-day furlough, Ralph was advanced to petty officer third class and shipped out of San Francisco as a stores specialist on a Navy cargo ship. He was serving in that capacity at Guam when the Japanese surrendered August 12th, 1945.

On the slow voyage back to the United States, Mr. Baird had a lot of time to "dream and fantasize" about his postwar life. He had two main dreams: how he would build his home in Fielding, and working toward a graduate degree. By the time he was discharged the last week of October, 1945 Ralph was eager to get back to his family. In his own words, he "couldn't get out of California fast enough." Once home, he wasted no time in pursuing his goals. He was able to take up his old position as principal and teacher in Fielding in

⁸All material for this sketch of Mr. Baird's experiences is taken from an interview with the author, 30 June 1988 in Concord, California.

the middle of the year. A few weeks after returning, he and his wife bought a town lot on which they would build their dream house. After New Years Day, Ralph enrolled in a master's degree program at USAC, majoring in education administration. He was able to use his G.I. benefits to finance his degree. He claims, in fact, that he would never have been able to finish the degree without them. He completed this degree in June 1950.

In 1948 Baird was elected president of the Box Elder Principal's Association, a post which he held until 1952. In that year he was elected president of the Box Elder County Teacher's Association, an affiliate of the Utah Education Association (UEA). Vaughn Wassom, another veteran and later fellow migrant, was his secretary. Both men had been active since the first election of J. Bracken Lee in combating the governor's anti-teacher policies. "We fought him tooth and toenail for two or three years," Baird recalls. During the gubernatorial election of 1952 both men were active in UEA campaigns against Lee, making weekly trips to Salt Lake City to participate in strategy and planning meetings. The 1952 annual meeting of the association was electric. Held in the Assembly Hall on Salt Lake City's Temple Square, the meeting consisted of one attack on Lee after another. Support for Lee's opponent, Salt Lake City mayor Earl J. Glade, was unanimous. The keynote speaker, Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the National Council of State School Officers, referred to

Lee as the worst enemy of schools in the United States. Other speakers thrust their own barbs in the governors side. But, as mentioned earlier, the anti-Lee campaign came to nothing. J. Bracken Lee was reelected by a large margin, reflecting, perhaps, an anti-education sentiment in Utah that ran deeper than the much lauded Mormon commitment to knowledge and intelligence.

For many Utah teachers, Lee's victory was the last straw. According to Baird, some nine hundred of them left the state for employment in California in the months after Lee's reelection. The Parrys were among them. Vaughn Wassom and his wife were too. Wassom had heard that good paying jobs were available in the San Francisco Bay Area. After school let out in June, 1953, the Wassoms and the Bairds drove out to California to "just look around" and explore job opportunities. While there they went together to several interviews with district superintendents. Wassom received several offers and finally settled on one in Concord. The salary was good--about forty percent higher than his Utah pay.

Though Baird had had no intentions of moving to California, and therefore had not presented himself as a job candidate when he went to interviews with Wassom, he found he was being offered positions too. A few superintendents even offered his wife a position without even having met her. Still, the Bairds left the Wassoms in California and went back to Fielding. But the seeds of discontent sown in

Baird's mind by Bracken Lee had germinated in the warmth of the California sun. He and his wife began to think seriously about leaving. The Wassoms encouraged the process. After the first snowfall in Utah, they wrote glowing reports about their thanksgiving picnic, and how they spent the next day walking barefoot on the beach. Additional pressure came from the Box Elder School District. June Baird had finished her own teaching certificate during the summer and wanted to start teaching full time. Unfortunately, the county school budget would not allow for both the Bairs to teach at the same school, or even in the same part of the county, and Box Elder is a large county.

Not only was the pay low, but job opportunities were extremely limited. By Spring, 1954 they had decided--they would go to California. Hoping to teach in the same district as their friends the Wassoms, they wrote to the Mt. Diablo superintendent to inquire about jobs opening. A week later, without any other contact, they received by mail two teaching contracts ready for signature. The only thing left to do was to sign them. They did. They were able to sell their house quickly, and by July were settled into a new one in Concord.

Not all the teachers who migrated to California were escaping the clutches of J. Bracken Lee. Some had spent time there before the war and had grown to love its climate

and other amenities. One such teacher and veteran was Lars Anderson. He was born in Salt Lake City and raised in Tremonton, Utah. His father, a fuel dealer, died when Lars was twelve years old, in the depths of the Great Depression. At the age of nineteen Lars was called to serve an LDS mission in Northern California, where he spent several months in Concord. In fact, he was in Concord the morning of December 7th, 1941. Like many other missionaries during the early part of the war, Anderson completed the two years of his commitment, returning to Utah in December, 1942.⁹

Shortly thereafter, he enlisted in the Navy. Back troubles kept him from completing basic training for several months. Eventually, he was sent to radar specialist school in San Diego and graduated with the rank of petty officer third class. During the next two years Anderson saw extensive sea duty. His aircraft carrier, the U.S.S. Gambier Bay, was involved in four major engagements in the Pacific, including the battle to retake the Philippines in late October, 1944. During that battle, his ship was sunk by surface-to-surface bombardment. He was one of only seventy-four out of over a thousand men who survived, floating in shark infested waters for over forty hours. To this day, he still bears scars from salt water sores.

After being picked up by landing craft, he and his

⁹All material for this sketch of Mr. Anderson's experiences is from an interview with the author, 30 June 1988, in Concord, California.

fellow crewmen were taken to New Guinea. The remaining fourteen months of his navy service was a whirlwind of travel. He had accumulated enough combat service points to be assigned to less hazardous duty. From New Guinea he went to Brisbane, Australia for transportation on the U.S.S. Luriline, a U.S. Presidents Line cruise ship refitted for war duty. With a top speed of forty-five knots, the ship took only fifteen days to reach San Francisco. There, Anderson was assigned to prisoner-of-war duty on Treasure Island. While in San Francisco, he was able to renew many of the acquaintances he had made during his mission service in Concord and the surrounding area. After a few months Lars was reassigned to cargo duty in Newport, Rhode Island. There he spent his weekend liberty visiting Boston, New York, and other places on the Atlantic coast. From Newport, he was assigned to a transport ship bound for France. Half way across the Atlantic they learned of the Japanese surrender. After offloading cargo in Calais, the ship picked up three thousand troops bound for home. These were disembarked in New York City, and Anderson and his cargo ship headed southwest through the Panama canal on their way to Yokohama, Japan. After arriving in Japan, Lars was reassigned to yet another ship, this time ferrying Chinese soldiers from Hong Kong to northern China. In Hong Kong he was struck by the stark contrast between the very poor and the very rich. Finally, he received his discharge orders and was shipped home to San Francisco, arriving there

a week before Christmas, 1945. After a short visit in Concord with some mission friends, Lars boarded a train bound for home.

He had been in the service a little short of three years. It was long enough on the G.I. bill that he was able to pay the expenses of two degrees out of it. He is positive he would not have made it otherwise. "It was a blessing to me," he says with characteristic devotion. Because of his veteran benefits, Lars sees his years in the navy as a kind of "paid vacation." Previously, he had not been out of Utah except during his mission to California. To see palm trees and flying fish was something exotic. He had seen so much in such a short time, all of it leaving a deep impression. The horrors of sea battle, and a close brush with death, had changed him from a "soft boy who lived from day to day to a man determined to get what he could from life." His far-flung travels had introduced him to a few of life's possibilities.

When he returned to Utah, the winter, 1946 quarter had already begun at the University of Utah so he enrolled instead at the Utah State Agricultural College. He majored in English and mathematics. Since housing was so short at the college he lived in the campus fieldhouse for the three quarters he was there. He transferred to the University of Utah for the Fall, 1946 quarter. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in elementary education in 1949. He immediately secured a position in Blanding, Utah, and began

work on a master's degree in education administration. He completed this degree in 1952. Both his bachelor's and master's degrees were paid for by G.I. Bill benefits.

The Andersons liked Blanding. But very soon they began to feel the financial limitations occasioned by a teachers salary in Utah. Lars's younger brother Joe had followed his older brother into the teaching profession, but instead of taking a job in Utah, went straight to California. From his brother's glowing descriptions, Joe Anderson decided on Concord. Owen Cook, the assistant superintendent in charge of business affairs for the Mt. Diablo Unified School District, himself a former Utahn, was helping many Utahns get teaching jobs in the area. He was able to place Joe. Immediately, Joe began a campaign to get Lars to join him. He ordered a subscription of the Concord Transcript sent to Lars. The first thing Lars noticed was that Concord had grown considerably since the end of the war. In 1945 the town had a little over 1,200 residents. By 1952 it had grown to over 10,000 with no end in sight. The walnut and almond orchards that had once carpeted the entire valley were quickly being converted into housing developments. Retail trade and other support businesses were booming. With all this growth came an explosion in education. Elementary schools were filled to overflowing, with several new ones on the drawing board. Teachers were being hired as fast as they could be found. Concord was literally bursting at the seams. Growth in nearby Diablo

Valley communities was similar to that of Concord's.

The second thing Lars noticed was that prices for food, clothing and other goods were no more than he and his wife were paying in Blanding; in many cases they were lower. Rents and house values were the same. What was different, however, was the salary of school teachers. Lars's starting pay in Blanding was \$2,400. By 1952 it had raised, mostly due to his master's degree, to \$3,200. But his brother was receiving \$3,900 in Concord without a graduate degree and with fewer years of experience. Best of all, he was receiving it in a place Lars had loved for years, where he had always hoped he could someday live.

By the middle of the 1952-53 school year Lars and his wife had made up their minds to go to Concord. They reasoned that they could always go back to Utah if they found they didn't like things in California. In retrospect, Lars admits that he had no such reservation in his own mind. Once the decision was made there would be no turning back. He placed a call to Owen Cook, whom he had known while on his mission in Concord, who assured him that an opening would be waiting for him when he arrived. After school let out in June, the Andersons packed a few belongings in their 1949 Kaiser and headed west, "trusting in the guiding hand of the Lord."

The last veteran to be considered is Durland Carney.

Mr. Carney was born in Escalante, Utah, to one of the original settler families of that isolated town.¹⁰ During the 1920s, the various branches of his family were caught in the demographic vise described in chapter one. Part of the family migrated to other farm lands in Utah and Idaho, part went to Salt Lake City to take up urban jobs. When the Great Depression hit prospects looked bleak indeed. After the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the subsequent devaluation of the dollar against gold, several of Utah's marginal gold mines were reopened and operated profitably. In this circumstance Mercur, Utah was opened for its third and final boom. Durland's father was hired by the mine company as an electrician, and the family moved to Mercur in 1936. They were there until 1942 when the mine closed for the duration of the war, then moved to Taylorsville, near Salt Lake City.

In June, 1943 Durland was to graduate from Salt Lake City's West High School and take a job with Pan American Airways on Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay working on Pan Am's famous clipper ships, then in military service. Unfortunately, discrepancies between graduation requirements for the Tooele High School and West High School prevented his graduation. As it turned out it was necessary for him to take an additional year of English literature. He worked

¹⁰All material for this sketch of Mr. Carney's experiences is taken from an interview with the author 30 May 1987 in Paradise, Utah.

the summer of 1943 for Pan American in California, which then granted him a leave of absence in the fall to finish high school.

In addition to regular high school activities, he had three years of trade school training: two in welding and metal machining, and one in aircraft mechanics. This experience qualified him for the Navy's V-5 civilian training program. After the program was completed he was to join the navy and be immediately assigned to Pan Am for the duration of the war. Nevertheless, for reasons he still does not understand, he joined the Marine Corps shortly before his eighteenth birthday in April, 1944--a few months before he was to graduate officially from high school. The Corps gave him a deferment for those few months, and he left for basic training a few days after graduation.

Shortly after he enlisted in the Marine Corps, Durland received a letter from the Navy Department informing him that he had been accepted for Officers Candidate School (OCS) in the Navy based on the results of tests he had taken in West High School's ROTC. He took the letter to the Marine recruiter who was completely unmoved. Durland could not withdraw his enlistment. However, he was assured that the Corps would honor the acceptance after boot camp. Unfortunately, due to various bureaucratic errors, his application for OCS was lost and he was assigned to the Third Marine Division, Third Service Battalion and shipped off to Guam.

By the time his outfit reached Guam, American forces had all but retaken the Island. "Mopping up" of isolated Japanese units was all that was left. While on the island Durland was able to maintain some connection with Utah and Mormon marines or members of the other services. Since basic training, there had been two or three Utah marines in his regiment. When possible, one of the Latter-day Saints would arrange for an impromptu church meeting, or just a social get together to stay in contact. One of the leaders of these meetings, L. Tom Perry, would later become a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the church. After a while, circumstances on Guam had become safe enough so that a special LDS conference could be arranged at Agana, the capital city. It was attended by about a hundred Latter-day Saints, members of the army, navy, and marine corps. The opportunity taken to recreate, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, on a bombed out and burned over island, the forms and symbols of their religion and homeland was profoundly meaningful to most of the LDS servicemen present.

In late January, 1945 Mr. Carney and the entire Third Marine Division were loaded onto troop transports and put out to sea. It wasn't for several days that their destination was announced. They were bound for a little island few had heard of--Iwo Jima. As part of the Third Service Battalion, Durland was not scheduled to go ashore until a wide beachhead had been secured. But during the third day of the invasion the members of his platoon were

called as combat replacements. Within a few days Durland was wounded and evacuated to Guam. After a month there he was sent to San Diego for recuperation. He was discharged from the Marine Corps the first week of October, 1945.

After being released Durland headed straight for Taylorsville. Immediately upon arrival his parents encouraged him to take advantage of the educational opportunities afforded veterans under the G.I. Bill. For a time, he resisted their suggestion--he was confused about what he wanted to do. He delayed the decision for what seemed like a long time. In retrospect, it could not have been more than just a few weeks. Eventually, he decided he would go to school. He visited the local Veterans Administration office where he was advised of his G.I. Bill entitlement.

The VA officer also advised Durland that since he had been classified by the agency as seventy percent disabled as a result of his war injuries he was entitled to special benefits authorized by U.S. Public Law 16. Unlike G.I. Bill provisions which based benefits on the number of months in the service, Public Law 16 provided funds to completely underwrite the education or training of disabled veterans. There was no specific limit on how much would be spent on the veteran's education. Since this was so, the VA exercised what was essentially veto power on the kind of career the veteran wanted to pursue. The agency administered a barrage of tests designed to determine the

applicant's aptitude and interests. If the veteran wanted Public Law 16 benefits he had to choose from a list of fields prepared from the results of the tests. As long as one of the items on the list was chosen, the VA would completely fund the training program, including law or medical school. The tests Durland took indicated that his strongest aptitude was in industrial management, followed closely by electrical engineering. He asked if mechanical engineering would be acceptable. The VA responded that it would be and approved his program. He began work at the University of Utah in the winter quarter of 1946.

In 1947 Durland married Jeanne Sant, also a student at the University of Utah, and began work on a house in Taylorsville. While still in school he got a job at the local Caterpillar Company dealership rebuilding electrical equipment. The work did not require a college education. After completing his studies, he went to work directly for Caterpillar as a field engineer, working out of the Salt Lake City dealership. Though the work was satisfying, it did not call for much in the way of innovation. One of Durland's original objectives in going to school had been to help build Utah into a major center for engineering, to build Utah's industrial technology. After working for caterpillar for a number of years this dream began to fade. He realized that opportunities for creative engineering jobs were limited in the state and would be for a long time, perhaps always. A family friend advised him that he should

get out of Utah and go to some place where he could use his talent, a place like California. This suggestion met with favor because Jeanne Carney, though born in Utah to a long-time Utah family, had been raised in California: Concord, California. A large part of their decision was that it would be like returning home for Jeanne.

They decided they would go. Without any specific job prospects, they sold their recently completed home, packed up a trailer, and headed for California. Originally, they intended to settle in Walnut Creek, then a small community southwest of Concord. After purchasing a home in what ended up to be Concord, Durland began searching for employment. At first, he found the San Francisco Bay area bewildering. He was what he describes today as a "semi-country boy" in a big city setting. Everywhere he went seemed to be overwhelming. He saw machinery and industrial activities he had been unaware existed. However, within a week, he found a job with Donner Scientific Company of Berkeley, which manufactured electronic instruments, well within easy commuting distance of Concord. He took a job as a machinist, thinking he would go on to a graduate degree at the University of California. After less than a month, he was offered an administrative job, and within two or three months the position of plant manager for a new facility the company was building in Concord. The Veterans Administration aptitude tests had proven correct. Though he later went back to engineering at another local electronics

company, he initially found a niche in industrial management.

6

The stories of these four sample veterans should not be read as examples of either rebellion or disdain for tradition. For the most part, the decision to leave Utah was not a conscious rejection of the past, nor even a disdain for the religious culture of the state. Most Mormon servicemen had carried their religion with them into war, and tried to recreate as often as possible the forms of the religious culture of Utah in foxholes and bivouacs. For some, the emotional and psychological stress of battle, or of loneliness and deprivation made their religion more of an imperative than it had ever been in safe and quiet Utah. After the war, religion continued to play a central role in the lives of the veterans and their families.

Side by side with the conservation of traditional religion, however, went the dynamism of America after VJ Day. Most veterans had dreamed and planned about their postwar lives during the long periods of inactivity during the war and especially between the end of the war and final discharge from the service. This time for reflection and thought was a rare opportunity in the history of the United States. Probably no generation before had had such an opportunity to plan for themselves the final transition from adolescence to full adulthood unfettered by the beclouding

influences of daily life and family influence.¹¹ This opportunity, along with the G.I. benefits and the national spirit of victory, combined to propel veterans into one of the greatest bursts of accomplishment of any American generation.

Instead of religion and family, economy and income considerations were the key factors in the major decisions of the Great Depression-World War generation. This is not to say that theirs was a particularly materialistic generation. Rather, their migration choices demonstrated the reality of a "heightened sense of personal efficacy" and the "urge to set the terms of one's own life."¹² In large part, the New Deal-inspired G.I. bills made this heightened sense possible. All of the veterans interviewed for this study claimed that the G.I. programs were decisive in their postwar accomplishments.

Undoubtedly, the largest single group of Utah migrants

¹¹The social history of the last thirty years has revealed the often indistinct line between child and adult in traditional agrarian America. Sons of farmers often lingered in a semi-dependent status well into their mid-twenties while waiting for a patrimony of land. For examples see Robert A. Gross, The Minutemen and Their World (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 74-83; Hal S. Barron, Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 81-106; John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 151-170; and Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," Journal of Marriage and the Family 31 (1969): 632-638. Demos claims that before the twentieth-century there was no word for the period of life between puberty and adulthood. The word "adolescence" is of fairly modern coinage.

¹²From S.N. Eisenstadt. See chapter one, note 8.

to leave the state after the war were public school teachers. Two out of three of the teachers discussed above left Utah because of the policies of J. Bracken Lee. As governor, Lee reflected an anti-modernization force in Utah politics. He was either ignorant of, or unconcerned about, the trend of increasing educational attainment which characterized the United States during the twentieth century, including Utah.¹³ His reactionary attitudes drove a lot of teachers from the state.

Not all, though, left because of the governor's anti-education stance. Lars Anderson was not pushed out of Utah by Governor Lee as much as he was pulled to California by the amenities his previous experiences there had offered him. Moreover, during his service years, he had seen more of the world than many other veterans. The idea of a life outside Utah had been well established during his world tours in the navy. For those veterans who were not teachers, the motives for migration varied. They were not pushed out by any particular political program as much as they were pulled by business and industrial opportunities in California and elsewhere.

These few differences aside, the migration experiences of the veterans were remarkably similar. All the veterans interviewed defined their search field according to chain migration. That is, they usually seriously considered only

¹³See chapter five for a discussion of education trends in Utah.

those places where family members or friends had settled before. Lloyd Parry had a sister already living in the Concord area. Ralph Baird and his wife eventually followed the Wassoms to the Mt. Diablo school district. Lars Anderson moved to a place he was already familiar with, and where his brother had previously settled. Durland Carney and his wife settled in the town where she had grown up, less than an hour's drive from her parent's new home in Sacramento.

This group of Utah veterans shared at least one other experience: all of them were impressed by the modernity and cosmopolitan character of the San Francisco Bay Area. In one way or another, each arrived in California something of a naif. Each had had very little contact with the world outside Utah before their wartime experiences. Their eyes had been opened by the shock of war. Each had had strong family and cultural ties to Utah. These were loosened but not broken. Most often the first persons to come into contact with the new migrants were Utahns who had preceded them. Finding the local ward of the LDS church was usually a simple matter. The newcomers could easily and almost instantly weave themselves into a preexisting web of associations with predictable qualities and composed of persons who shared like values and a common heritage.

In California, most former Utahns carefully preserved the majority the Mormon cultural traditions. For example, well into the 1960s the children of these Utah expatriates

were reenacting, under the direction of their Primary teachers,¹⁴ the events of July 24th, 1847. In commemoration of that day the children would dress in pioneer costumes and pull wagons and other toys decorated like prairie schooners or handcarts in a parade around the church building or on nearby sidewalks. Many of these children had been born in California yet were being acculturated to Utah traditions by celebrating an event in the settlement of that state. Of course, for Mormons, the history of their migrations in the nineteenth century was not just history, it was also religion. These twentieth century veteran-migrants, though moving for their own personal considerations, nevertheless continued to honor the communal choices and group sacrifices of their ancestors.

¹⁴"Primary" is an auxiliary organization of the LDS church which teaches basic religious principals to children between age three and twelve. Prior to the "consolidated meeting schedule" of the 1980s Primary classes were held on Tuesdays or Wednesdays in ward buildings after public school hours.

CHAPTER V
THE LOST TAIL

Memory, I think, is a substitute for the tail that we lost in the happy process of evolution. It directs all our movements, including migration.

Joseph Brodsky, Less Than One¹

1

The accounts of Utahns migrating to Concord in chapter four confirms a theory widely held among geographers and sociologists: that the search field for migration options is tightly circumscribed by travel experiences, the location of friends or relatives, or places where one had lived in the past. This is what the poet Joseph Brodsky meant when he said that memory directs our movements. It serves the same function in the mental and emotional life of humans that the tail serves in the flights of tree monkeys from limb to limb: it stabilizes, balances and, not infrequently, actually holds on to the unsteady branches between great leaps.

One historian has referred to the migration of Utahns after World War Two as the Mormon diaspora, the Mountain West's equivalent to the ancient scattering of the Jews

¹Joseph Brodsky, Less Than One: Selected Essays (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986), 30.

after the final Roman defeat in A.D. 70.² The comparison is apt. Latter-day Saints firmly believe that they too are the remnants of ancient Israel, and they spend a great deal of energy gathering the "children of Israel" into one flock. In the Nineteenth Century the gathering was taken literally: all came to Zion. Economic considerations made that impractical by the turn of the century. Thereafter, the gathering progressively became a metaphor. Except in popular usage Zion ceased to be a particular place. Instead, it was explained as any place where the pure in heart dwelt. The organization of stakes of Zion became more than just a way to divide large numbers of relatively closely located Latter-day Saints into administrative units. Instead, they became what the name implies: distantly located outposts of culture and ecclesiastical authority.

The recreation of the Mormon world in each new location became the central issue in the religious lives of Utah expatriates. Most often, the building of a ward meetinghouse was the first manifestation of this recreation. This was clearly the case for the Utahns who came to Concord during the early 1950s. Before such projects became impractical for legal and financial reasons, ward meetinghouses were typically built by donated labor, the labor of members of the ward. Certain kinds of specialized work such as bricklaying was often hired, but the basic

²Shipps, "The Gathering of the Scattered," 2.

carpentry, electrical work, wall plastering, painting and other finish work, as well as landscaping was contributed by members of the local ward. Each of the informants for this study (see bibliography for complete list) report that their involvement in the building project tied each to the other members of the Concord Ward. Each found his or her place in the local community of saints by participating in building the "house of the Lord." For each, building the wardhouse became a modern surrogate for the building of the "kingdom." Just as the pioneers of the nineteenth-century had done, these twentieth-century migrants joined in a common effort and found identity with both the handful of compatriots with whom they had toiled and with the larger body of God's people.

Six months after the organization of the Concord Ward local church authorities purchased two acres of an old walnut orchard East of the center of town. Ground was broken on the 20th of June, 1953. Construction began almost immediately. Plans called for a 14,000 square foot building to house two wards with a combined membership of 2,400. Bishop Ira J. Markham acted as general contractor. Crews of volunteer ward members spent a few hours each weekday evening on the project, as well as all day Saturdays. The Saturday work parties frequently numbered in the fifties or sixties. Wives prepared lunches for their husbands. These were not individual lunches for each worker, but a community meal. The entire crew sat down at a large table and ate

with one another and their wives. More than one hundred community meals were taken in this way during the duration of the project. It was reminiscent of communal meals in the United Order communities of early Utah: all ate the same food from a common table. Ralph Baird commented that the ward at that time "was a great brotherhood" and "was closer at that time than any other time because we were working together." These sentiments have been echoed by many other early ward members.

Two and a half years after the start of the project the Concord Ward meetinghouse was ready for dedication. In total more than 35,000 donated person-hours and \$800,000 had been spent on the building. Approximately half of the funds had been raised by local ward members, the other half provided by the general church headquarters in Salt Lake City. As is the Latter-day Saint custom, none of the funds for the project were financed by bank loans. The building was formally dedicated in November, 1955 by Harold B. Lee, a member of the church's Quorum of the Twelve. By that time, Concord Ward had grown from its original three hundred members to over 1,500. At the building's dedication ceremony, the ward was divided, and the Concord Second Ward was created.

By the time the Concord wardhouse had been dedicated, most of the newcomers from Utah felt very much at home, in spite of predictions to the contrary from family members and friends. Ralph Baird was openly challenged by at least two colleagues concerning his leaving after Utah had "done so much for him." But Ralph did not feel he owed Utah anything that he had not repaid already. His family was understandably disappointed at his departure. He was the only one of seven children who left the state. Some of his friends wondered how he could leave Utah "where the church is" and take his family into Babylon. Ralph, however, claims that his children were more active in the church and lived closer to its teachings than many who stayed in Utah. He feels his family was strengthened by daily contact with the great cultural diversity of California. In fact, Ralph claims, diversity is the state's great quality. New construction, new homes, and new businesses, along with the constant influx of people, contribute to what he sees as California's progressive nature. Utah is a nice place to live, and he and his wife visit family and friends often, but now California is home.³

The same sentiment is held by Lars Anderson and Lloyd Parry. They both knew they could always go back to Utah if they didn't like things in California. But Lars has been enthralled with the state, and especially the Concord area,

³Ralph Baird, interview with author, 30 June 1988, Concord, California.

since the days of his mission. He claims to have felt no regret at leaving Zion. He and his wife have no plans to move back now that they are retired.

Lloyd and Yvonne Parry feel the same way. Neither has any regrets about coming to California. They both feel that they have had a better life there than they could have had in Utah. Like so many Utah migrants, what started out primarily as a move based upon career and other economic concerns became a deeply felt attachment to the place where they have spent the most vital part of their lives; a feeling the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has called topophilia--the love of place.⁴ Perhaps Lloyd Parry illustrated this best when asked if he and his wife wanted to return to Utah:

We would find it difficult to give up the orange trees we have in our backyard and the almond trees and the general type of living--it's nice to be out of the ice and snow. I've got grapefruit ripe on the tree right now. In the winter we can count on so many oranges from our own trees that we have to give them away. It's still a marvel to me. We love the people of Utah and visiting reminds me of home, but now this is home.⁵

Some Utah migrants have returned to the state. Many of those who came to Concord during the 1950s have returned upon retirement. Durland Carney and his wife were among these. However, unlike some who returned because of a sense of home-place, the Carneys returned primarily for economic

⁴Yi-Fu Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

⁵Lloyd Parry, interview with author, 29 June 1988, Concord, California.

reasons. Their retirement plans called for several acres of farmland on which to establish themselves in partial self-sufficiency. Such acreage is extremely expensive in California and the Carneys felt the taxes would have been prohibitive. Utah seemed the natural alternative. Family was still located there, including a daughter and her four children. Even so, they both experienced some degree of culture shock after moving into a small farming community in Cache Valley.⁶

3

For the veterans of World War Two the feature of modernization most operative in their lives was a heightened sense of personal efficacy. This was not just the result of their wartime experiences. Utah's role in World War Two had helped complete the transition from traditional Mormon frontier to modern American urban oasis. The massive build-up of the defense industry in Utah after the war tied Utah even closer to the outside world. For this reason, one cannot conclude that the veterans who left Utah after the war did so because Utah was particularly backward or out of touch. They did so because the state's economy was too small to provide them with what they wanted. It was a matter of scale, not of kind.

Teacher salaries were not held low after the war

⁶Durland B. Carney, interview with author, 30 May 1987, Paradise, Utah.

because of any traditional idea of how much teachers should be paid, or even because of the idea that public expenditures should be as low as possible. Salaries were low because Utah was a small state with a very small tax base, and had more children to educate per wage earner than other states. The politics arising out of this condition are what made fiscal conservatives like J. Bracken Lee popular. Likewise, the decision by engineers and others to leave Utah was not made because Utahns were more interested in farming than industry, or because the state lacked access to new technology. Rather, they decided to leave because Utah was physically isolated and distant from hubs of commerce and manufacturing. This isolation limited (and still limits) the quantity of opportunities for ambitious, college educated Utahns. Limited opportunities, not the failure to be progressive, is what pushed many away from Utah. Pushed is the key word. One of the most persistent theories of geographic behavior suggests that migration is caused by a push from the home place accompanied by a pull from another place, soon to be the new home.⁷

After fifteen years of being pushed from state to state by angry locals, the Latter-day Saints settled where they thought no one would disturb them. The third verse of one of the most popular and best known Latter-day Saint hymn is

⁷Guido Dorigo and Waldo Tobler, "Push-Pull Migration Laws," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 73 (1983): 1-17.

a good literary statement of push-pull migration psychology:

We'll find the place which God for us prepared
 Far away in the West,
 Where none shall come to hurt nor make afraid
 There the saints will be blessed.

We'll make the air with music ring,
 Shout praises to our God and king.
 Above the rest these words we'll tell:
 All is well, all is well.⁸

This stirring hymn was written on the westward trail months before the Mormons had reached Utah. It became a kind of marching song, a musical affirmation of the American dream of happiness just over the next rise. Until they had completed their long trek the Latter-day Saints were as American in their migration behavior as Daniel Boone.

The Mormon experience in Utah, however, turned the push-pull model inside-out. Once they had built their kingdom "far away in the West" the pull was no longer from outside world, it was from within. The social pressure to remain within what very quickly became the traditional borders of Zion was great. By the 1860s Mormon poetry and hymnology began to display a Utah centered viewpoint:

Thou hast led us here in safety
 Where the mountain bulwark stands
 As the guardian of the loved ones
 Thou hast brought from many lands.

For the rock and for the river,
 For the valley's fertile sod,
 For the strength of the Hills
 we bless thee
 Our God, our father's God.

⁸William Clayton, "Come, Come, Ye Saints," in Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: LDS Church, 1985), hymn no. 30.

 Here our voices we'll raise,
 And we'll sing to thy praise,
 Sacred home of the prophets of God.
 Thy deliv'rance is nigh,
 Thy oppressors shall die,
 And thy land shall be freedom's abode.

O Zion! Dear Zion! Land of the free,
 In thy temples we'll bend;
 All thy rights we'll defend;
 And our home shall be ever with thee.

The wilderness that naught before would yield
 Is now become a fertile, fruitful field.
 Where roamed at will the fearless Indian band,
 The templed cities of the Saints now stand.

And sweet religion in its purity
 Invites all men to its security
 There is my home, the spot I love so well,
 Whose worth and beauty pen nor tongue can tell.⁹

The push from outside, if there was one at all expressed in these passages, was experienced in the form of national pressure on the customs and institutions of the church and its people. And certainly there was no thought of being pulled outside the region. This reversal of near-universal migration psychology persisted until the 1890s. Anachronistic attempts at regional self-sufficiency helped to perpetuate this unusual migration behavior. After that, under the influences of a rapidly modernizing America

⁹Edward L. Sloan, "For the Strength of the Hills," Hymns, no. 35, verse 3; Charles W. Penrose, "O Ye Mountains High," *ibid.*, no. 34, verse 4; Orson F. Whitney, "The Wintry Day, Descending to its Close," *ibid.*, no. 37, verse 4. The fact that these place-related hymns are grouped together in the 1985 hymnal is evidence that the idea of Utah as Zion still persists to one degree or another.

outside the Mountain West, it began to slowly flip once again. By the end of the Second World War the standard push-pull psychology was again the order of the day. The conjunction between traditional frontier-rural Zion and modern commercial and industrial Utah had been completed. The four Utah veterans discussed in chapter four helped to make the transition. The other modernizing trends discussed in chapter one helped complete the transition.

4

One facet of the modern world we have not discussed is the speed with which history moves in modern times. The Twentieth Century has seen the world and its civilizations turn over a dozen times--so many wars, so many movements, so much technology, such large cities, such rapid communication. A great deal can happen now in a single lifetime. Today, people not only live longer in absolute years than they did at the turn of the century, but their lives are so much fuller, their memories crammed with changes once taking hundreds of years to occur. The lives of the veterans of the Second World War illustrate this. The generation that fought World War Two was mostly born in the 1920s, a decade of shallow, devil-may-care prosperity. It grew up in the depths of the Great Depression, the worst economic disaster in the modern era, and came to adulthood when the United States was at the pinnacle of its power, both militarily and economically.

World War Two veterans began building their lives and careers at the same time the Cold War began to divide the world into two atomically armed camps. A sword of Damocles dangled over the entire generation, as it still does over its children and grandchildren, though hung from a stouter thread than before. Yet, as the war generation retires and turns control of the world over to its children, the Cold War coincidentally has come to an end. In 1945 American men and women returned from Europe and the Pacific to learn that iron and bamboo curtains were being drawn across much of the world they had so recently liberated. Many of them built careers in government or industry dedicated to meeting the communist threat worldwide. How odd it must seem now to watch, almost half a century later, the dismantling of the Iron Curtain and the liberalization of Eastern Bloc society.

Though the world of the Twentieth Century is constantly changing, some things seem never to change. There will always be the myth of the frontier for Americans--at least in the foreseeable future. Post-World War America was probably the closest thing to the Western Frontier of the nineteenth century to be found in the twentieth. There was no longer free land to homestead, but there were G.I. Bill home loans and new housing developments like Long Island's Levittown where young couples could invest their dreams. Dacron permanent-press and Hostess Twinkies had replaced buckskin and pemmican, but explorers of a sort found their Buenaventura in the struggle for civil rights, in the

successful landing of men on the moon, and in all the many ways civilization has progressed in the last forty-five years. The briefcase, the slide rule, and the textbook had replaced the plains rifle, but fresh game was still to be had in almost any career, just for the asking and a G.I. Bill college degree. The dream of limitless opportunity once again danced in the American mind.

The war in Vietnam, though not directly related, killed the dream, along with many of the sons of the veterans of the Second World War. The world had turned over again, bled a little, and asked "what next?". It has turned over a few times since and is still turning. Children of the postwar baby boom are now easing themselves into the seats of power. They see a much different world than their parents had seen --a world of scarcity, the United States in decline, and hopelessly unsolvable problems: the Middle-East, the drugs, the deficit. Boundless confidence is no longer a hallmark of the American character. But for the former G.I.s during the first two decades after World War Two confidence was the cardinal virtue. Hope was the byword, and determined action the order of the day.

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